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EDITED BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, AND CHARLES C. TORREY

Professor in Yale University,
New Haven.

Professor in Yale University,
New Haven.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

The Fountain of Youth.—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

WHEN preparing for publication the text of the Jāiminiya legend of Cyavana, which is built about the myth of the Fountain of Youth, I expected to find some systematic presentation of the different phases of this popular tale, as they are found in the Orient, in Europe, in America, and in Polynesia, an epitome of which might serve to introduce the new Sanskrit text. But all the accounts accessible to me turned out to be incomplete, while most of them had confused this myth with other distinct legends of analogous yet not identical character. I found it necessary therefore to do my own work, so to speak,¹ and have written an introduction which, I regret to say, though longer than at first intended, is yet still too short to be definitive. On the other hand, I have hopes that the historical problem here for once definitely stated may be solved by those to whose province of knowledge this Arethusa has fled, those, namely, who are familiar with cisindic literature shortly before and shortly after the Christian era.

¹ But not without help, here gratefully acknowledged, from several colleagues, who have assisted me to find authorities and texts in a field remote from my usual business. I gladly take this opportunity to thank Professors Torrey, Bourne, F. Wells Williams, and A. H. Palmer for such aid. Also Professor Kittredge and Professor Lanman were so kind as to furnish me with certain material which I should otherwise have lacked. To the useful communications from Professors Jastrow, Morris, and Porter I have referred in the notes. My greatest indebtedness is to Professor H. R. Lang, to whom I owe the references to early French and Spanish literature.

As to the text, in 1882 I transcribed for Professor Whitney some of the third book of the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa from Judge Burnell's unique South Indian (Grantham) manuscript. In the part transcribed was contained the legend of the Fountain of Youth, which was subsequently translated by Professor Whitney, the translation being published in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1883. The text itself has never been edited, nor was the Brāhmaṇa continuation of the story, which bears a close resemblance to the later epic version, included in the translation. The text of both of these parts of Brāhmaṇa is somewhat corrupt; but it seems better to bring them out now than to wait longer for other manuscripts, which may never be found. As explained in the notes appended to the text, revision of the original has led to some slight changes in the translation.

Found in many parts of the world, myths of rejuvenation are of varied sorts. Some of these appear to be unique in kind, such as that of the curse of recurrent youth involved in the fate of Cartaphilus, or the Icelandic Saga of the man who shed his skin every few centuries and always came out thirty years old.¹ Many of the myths are at least so dissimilar that there is no danger of confusing them, or of fancying that they were originally identical and subsequently differentiated. For example, rejuvenation by means of a fairy's ring will not be regarded as a special development of the myth of the water of life. But in other cases, a lack of discrimination has led to this kind of error, and as a result Medea's kettle is identified with Ponce de Leon's spring, etc.

The simplest and perhaps commonest means of securing rejuvenation is to ask for and get it. Either a real deity or a good-natured mortal is the deus ex machina. Quasi parallels are found in the stories of magical cures, restoration to sight, and even to life, at the hands of Hindu Yogins and Muhammadan Faqirs in modern India.² In ancient India, the god Indra gives Bharadvāja a life-renewing science or formula.³ "Never

¹ Baring-Gould, however, appears to connect these two tales. *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, i, App. A. It is perhaps too much to say that any form is unique. ² See the *Legends of the Panjāb*, pp., 81, 213, 232.

³ TBr. iii. 10. 11. 3 ff. The same god restores the life of the dead. R(B). vi. 120. 13.

to come to old age" is also the reward of living in a place especially holy, and rejuvenation is promised in the philosophical writings to such as even hear the words of wisdom.¹ But youth may also be gained, with a saint's aid, by a bargain with a fellow-mortal. Thus in the Hindu epic, Yayāti, an aged king, persuades a son to exchange royalty for youth. The king is, indeed, informed that meditation on the saintly benefactor is a necessary prelude.² Yet in point of fact he begs each son in turn to strike the bargain, till one consents and takes his father's decrepitude in exchange for the throne; but only for a thousand years. Then Yayāti resumes his age and lives as a senile ascetic for a thousand years more. Even death itself may be put aside through exchange of life with another,³ or by means of charms;⁴ so why should not this be true of decrepitude as well?

¹ In the formula, *na yāty eva jarāṁ naraḥ*, R(B). iii. 76. 27, cf. AV. x. 8. 32, *na mamāra na jīryate*, the literal meaning, "he comes not to old age," excludes (by virtue of its stereotyped character) the interpretation that he (who lives in the hermitage) escapes old age by death. With the statement of the Upanishads, that to hear such and such a truth would 'rejuvenate the old and make a dry branch bud again', may be compared the Zoroastrian promise, Yasna, xix. 10, that the word of truth, if learned and held fast, would make the hearer immortal. Compare also the *arbre sec* (of many Oriental writers), which will bloom when Mass is said under it.

² Mbh. i. 88. 41: *saṁkrāmayiṣyasi jarāṁ yatheṣṭam mām anudhyāya*, "by meditating on me you will confer your old age on whomever you will." This point is ignored in the short account of Yayāti at R. vii. 59.

³ This is the story of Ruru, Mbh. i. 8, found also in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, 14; cf. Pañcatantra, iv. 5; Benfey, i. 496. Ruru gives half his life to get back the life of his sweetheart.

⁴ The *mṛtasamjivani* (or -ini) plant is an herb that revives the dead, in distinction from the "great herb," *saṁdhāni*, which unites several parts of a dead body, the *viśalyā*, which simply cures wounds, and the *suvarṇakaraṇi*, which "gives a golden (ruddy) color," Rām. vi. 74. 33. In the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, the *saṁjivini* science is a formula, the repetition of which raises the dead, Mbh. i. 76. 33 (in connection with the Yayāti tale, above; according to Ludwig, who interprets Yayāti allegorically as the year, the revivifying power of water or its renewal, *Sitz. Böhm. Ges. Wiss.*, 1898, Class. Phil.); or it is a jewel having this effect, ib. xiv. 80. 42. Both epics know the 'wound-curer.' Somadeva also tells of an herb which raises the dead, *mṛtasamjivana*, as well as of sorcerers who have this power, e. g., Kathās. 69 and 81. Compare for this and other means of revivification the 76th taraṅga, with Tawney's notes at i. 499 and ii. 248. In the seventh Vetāla story is mentioned the rarer herb which "removes old age and death," given by a supernatural person, *bhakṣyaphalaṁ jarāmṛtyuharaṁ dadāu*, 81.

In Grecian myth, rejuvenation at the will of a deity is implied in the tale of Tithonos and the ἀγῆστιά which the wretch might have had, if Eos' wit had been equal to her beauty. At a later date, as related by Palaephatos, Aphrodite changed an old man, who had served her, into the beautiful youth beloved by Sappho.¹ Further, Aelian in his *Varia Historia*, iii. 18, mentions a deadly rejuvenating tree found in the land of fable. But even the 'water of life' ἀθάνατο νερό, for earthly use, is a modern import into Hellenic thought.²

108. A pearl "removes poisons, devils, old age, and sickness," viṣa-rakṣojarārogaharam (cūḍāratnam), Kathās. 119. 27. A "heavenly fruit" destroys "age and sickness" also in 123. 65 (divyam adāt phalam; a grateful monkey is the donor). Illustrations of revivifying gems from the *Syrische Märchen* and other sources, which I pass over, are given by Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 231 ff., and by Clauston, in his notes on the Pardoner's Tale, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii. pp. 407, 497. A good example of the *Lebensbaum* is given by the wood of the true cross, which revivified a dead man when tested by Constantine's mother, Helena, who was thus able to distinguish it from the thieves' crosses, Alfrūni, *Chronology*, p. 292 (Sachau). Modern India abounds in tales of revivification by means of balms and charms. In *Old Deccan Days*, p. 189, for example, the juice of a tree revivifies, as a flower does in Europe. There is in Indian charms the same distinction between remaking a body and revitalizing it when made (out of a bone or ashes), which is found in the Russian 'waters of death and life.' This appears in the Rāmāyaṇa (above); in the story in Kathās. 96; and in the difference between the Tamil samjivi and śisupābani, as explained below. For an interesting example of the supernatural holiness gradually attaching to a common article, compare the development of the Sangreal, from gral, 'coral,' the λιθόδενδρον, half stone, half 'herba' (as John of Hese calls it outright), which cures wounds and "illius est, ut ait Zoroaster, mira potestas" (Oppert, *Ueber die Ursprünge der Parzival- und Gralsage*, p. 206). Compare the Sk. vidrūma, "a queer tree" (coral) and Pliny's statement, N. H. xxxii. 2. 11: (In India) "soothsayers and prophets regard coral as the most sacred of amulets . . . They enjoy it both as an ornament and as an object of devotion" (et decore et religione gaudent). For the attainment of "long life," various amulets, such as a girdle, AV. vi. 133, or the grace of healing waters, are in common demand from the earliest times in India.

¹ This legend and those of Olger and the bridle are given by Dunlop in his *History of Fiction*.

² For Aelian, see the note below, p. 43. The "immortal spring," ἀθάνατος πηγή, or spring of immortal life, of Greek folk-belief is not a spring wherewith to secure immortality or rejuvenation in life, but it pertains to the realms of death and the blessed shades, where one may drink of the water of forgetfulness or of the cool fountain of Mnemo-

In Northern legend, Olger the Dane is changed from one hundred to thirty years of age by virtue of a ring bestowed by the fairy Morgana, and in the tale of *La Mule sans Frein*, the bridle of said mule bestows eternal youth upon its fortunate possessor. The gods themselves renew their youth by drinking ambrosia or by eating apples; but these have as little to do with a tangible Fountain of Youth as has the heavenly "Fount of Honey-dew," of which the Vedic gods are invoked to let the worshipper partake. In post-classical Hindu fable, ambrosia (*amṛta*) is applied by the gods to the ashes and bones of the dead, to revivify them, as in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 72; but never to rejuvenate the living.

But there is still another way of restoring youth. When Vergil, the magician, renewed his youth in the mediæval tale recounted by Dunlop, he employed the means natural to so distinguished a dealer in Black Art and had himself thoroughly chopped up. In this condition he was to remain for nine days, at the end of which he should have come out in a fresh edition. Unfortunately the magic rite was rudely interrupted and the new Vergil never got beyond the state of boyhood, though he had safely passed the period of infancy, for before he finally expired he was able to utter a curse on those who had disturbed the ceremony. Some remains of an ancient fire-cult may be inferred from the fact that the arrangements included "a fair lamp at all seasons burning" beneath the barrel in which the aged poet was pickled.

This method of rejuvenation implies a well-known principle of magic, in accordance with which the old life must be sacrificed that the new life may emerge. In various forms this principle is widely recognized, and a close parallel to the attempted rejuvenation of Vergil is offered by the effectual rebirth of

syne. Compare Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. p. 390, note: "Die eigentliche Stelle dieses Lebenswassers ist wohl immer die Unterwelt." Rohde cites, for such water, benedictions in Greek epitaphs, and Schol. Plato, *Rep.* x. 611c. The formula in Egypt (May Osiris give thee the cold water of everlasting life) "scheint auf original ägyptischen Monumenten nicht vorzukommen," ib. 391, note. For modern Grecian "water of immortality," and parallels, cf. Hahn *ap.* Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 286. It is by no means improbable that the whole conception of the ἀθάνατος πηγή, occurring as it does at a relatively late (Orphic) period in Grecian belief, may be due to Semitic influence.

Jantu in another tale of the Hindu epic. According to this story,¹ a certain king Somaka, who had but one son, feeling insecure in his hopes of posterity and desirous of offering further hostages to fortune, insisted that his priests at any cost should provide him with more children. Loath at first to adopt evil magic, they finally admitted that there was a means known to them. After further persuasion on the part of the king, they revealed the plan, which was carried out as follows. Jantu, the only son of Somaka, was seized and sacrificed, being cut into pieces and cast into the fire. Then the various queens of the king were forced to inhale the steam and smoke and in due time they became pregnant and each bore a son, Jantu himself being reborn of his own (former) mother. This trick secured for the king the sons he desired, though the sinfulness of the act is admitted by the poet, who adds that Somaka was eventually sent to hell to expiate the crime.²

I have adduced these cases of clearly magical functions before discussing that of Medea, in order that, with these parallels in mind, the ancient mistake of interpreting Medea's cauldron as a Fountain of Youth may be avoided. This error goes back at least as far as the time of Peter Martyr and centuries later it was countenanced and made classic by the famous book of Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, in which (p. 12) the author identifies Medea's cauldron with the Jungbrunnen, the latter with the Hindu pool of rejuvenation, and finally interprets all three as developments of the same "cloud-water" imagined to be ambrosia. It is true that the honey-dew sent to earth by the Aśvins, the physician gods of India, is regarded as their "medicine," and that dew even now is considered a "sovereign preventative against diseases of the skin," as is illustrated by those Spanish peasants who "roll

¹ Mahābhārata, iii. 127-128.

² A similar tale is told in the Kathāsaritsāgara, 61, where a woman is advised by an ascetic ("of heretical sect") to kill her own son (for the god), to get more. In India sacred wells are reputed to cure barrenness, and even to revitalize the dead. But modern Hindu life offers a good parallel to the epic tale also. The case is officially reported (1870) of a woman who murdered and drank the blood of a child to secure offspring. Compare Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, i. p. 50; ii. p. 172 (with further examples). In the Kathāsaritsāgara, 78 (fourth Vetāla), a king's life is saved and prolonged by the sacrifice of a boy.

naked in the dew of a meadow" to ward off such diseases.¹ But dew is a long distance from Medea's kettle, which contains various drugs and magical substances, together with the debris of her victim, and all this in a kettle over a fire! Medea is, in truth, only a practicer of black magic. She rejuvenates not by having recourse to a sacred spring but by means of her wit, drugs, and incantations (ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως):

αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσωνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβώοντα,
γῆρας ἀποξύσασα ἰδνίῃσι πραπίδεσσι,
φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔψουσ' ἐπὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν.

And Aeschylus narrates ὅτι καὶ τὰς Διονύσου τροφούς μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεψήσασα ἐνεοποίησεν.

So in Ovid, Met. vii. 271 ff., drugs, old crow², enchantments, and witches' fire are the means employed by Medea. Only in mediæval romance, where, as will be shown, a different means is well known, does Medea renew the youth of Jason's father by means of the "water of Paradise." "In the middle of the fifteenth century," says Schmidt, in the notes to his edition of Straparola,⁴ 'appeared the French romance, *Le Livre du preux et vaillant Jason et de la belle Méléé*, wherein the old fables were renewed in modern garb. In this work, through the power of the water of life, Aeson feels so rejuvenated, qu'il étoit fort enclin à chanter, danser, et faire toutes choses joyeuses; et qui plus est, il regardoit moult volontiers les belles damoiselles.'

There is then no native Hellenic myth of a Fountain of Youth for man. But as in Greece, so in Rome. There appears to have been no early native legend of any fountain, to quaff which, or to bathe in which, at once rejuvenated human senility.

¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. p. 297. Compare also the St. John's Day bath and the May-day dew-bath among the English in the time of Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 893, with Liebrecht's note (ed. 1856, p. 57). On the honey-dew or aerial honey of India (manna?) as reported by the Greeks, cf. Strabo, xv. 7; Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xxvi. p. 451; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 143, note 4.

² The crow here, as in Egypt, is a symbol of long life.

³ Compare the account in the *Trojan War* of Conrad of Würzburg, referred to in Taylor's *German Popular Stories*, notes, p. 328, apropos of the tale of the "Water of Life."

⁴ *Die Märchen des Straparola. Aus dem Italiänischen, mit Anmerkungen von Dr. Friedr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt.* Berlin, 1817.

To find this Fountain of Youth on European soil we must first, as has been intimated above, turn to the writers of romance, who took the myth from the East. That such was the source of the tale is indicated by the fact that they locate the mysterious Fount in the Orient. It appears, for example, in the fifteenth century, in the story of Huon de Bordeaux, where we read that the hero discovers near the Persian gulf the Fountain of Youth, which comes out of Paradise. No sooner has Huon bathed in this fountain than he "feels resuscitated from the effects of his late labours and recovers his pristine vigour," without the meretricious aid of magical drugs or enchantments. Near the fountain "grew a tree, of which the apples partook of the resuscitating properties of the water by which its roots were nourished." Dunlop,¹ from whose *History of Fiction* I have here cited, adds the parallel just referred to, together with that found in the Fabliau of Coquaigne,—

La Fontaine de Jovent,
Qui fit rajovenir le gent.

But it is possible that this latter land of jest was not the last reduction of the Oriental paradise, but the western paradise of Keltic mythology, where all live in idleness and drink the water of life in the island of Youth (see below).²

Le Grand D'Aussy (third edition, vol. i. p. 302), speaking of this last imaginary fount in an imaginary land, has a note contrasting the Fountain of Youth with the fountain of life, or the 'water of life.' He holds (correctly) that the latter myth was introduced into Europe through the Oriental romance; but he errs in making the Fountain of Youth exclusively European, fancying that the Orient had only a tree and fount of life, and that this became, at the hands of European writers, the more delicate myth of the Fountain of Youth.

Another French romance, the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, by Richard le Pèlerin (thirteenth century), reveals in its name the

¹ Dunlop adduces also a parallel from the Greek "romance of Ismene and Ismenias;" but this must be elided, as Liebrecht has shown.

² The *locus classicus* is Hans Sachs' jesting allusion:

Auch ist in dem Land ein Junckbrunn,
Darinn verjungen sich die Alten.

This is in Schlauraffen Land, "Das von den Alten ist erdicht," inconveniently located "drey Meyl hinder Weynachten."

Oriental locality of the Fountain described (ll. 8134-8136) as a spring that bubbles up once a year at the foot of a tree :

Une fois ens en l'au, por renovelement,
Se vait chascuns beigner el flore de jovent.

In *Le Roman des aventures de Fregus*, Guillaume le Clerc, a trouvère of the thirteenth century,¹ describes the fountain seen by Fregus as sanative rather than rejuvenating :

En cel bos une fontainne a,
Qui sourdoit devers Oriant,
N'a plus bele, mien essiant,
Dusques en la croix à Diex fu;
Et si avoit itel vertu
Que nule autre fontainne n'a :
Que nus hom jà tant ne sera
Malades ne mesaiaisiés,
Se il em boit, ne soit haitiés.

A similar reference is found in the *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*,² line 132 ff. :

Rois Lotaires s'en va a la fontaine droit
Qui devers Oriant³ son sorgon enveoit.
La fontaine estoit bele et clere et delitouse; [etc.]
S'est hom qui elle ait la male erite couse,
S'en front let de cele aigue qui est tant bone couse,
Sempres sera garis, ja n'est tant angoissouse.

All these fountains of youth and life are directly or implicitly derived by the mediæval poets from the Orient, as the last (Swan) legend actually reverts to the Oriental Sintipas.

This geographical relation is clearly indicated in one of the earliest references, found in *Le Bestiaire* of Philipp de Thain :

¹ I cite from the ed. Michel, 1841, p. 133.

² Ed. by Prof. H. A. Todd in the fourth volume of the *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1883-1889. On the significant derivation of Oriant (Orient), see the note by the editor, p. viii. These references to the writings of the trouvères (for which, as I have said, I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague, Professor H. R. Lang), complement those cited by Schmidt, *Die Märchen des Straparola*, who in turn added to those collected by Dunlop, *History of Fiction*. Some further references will be found in the notes to Köhler's *Kleinere Schriften* (see below).

Quant li aigle at ço fait,
 En orient en vait,
 U veit une funtaine,
 Dunt l'ere est clere e saine;
 E tel est sa nature,
 Si cum dit escripture,
 Quant treis feiz est plungiez,
 Dunc est rejuveigniez.¹

To this fountain I shall return later.

The famous Jungbrunnen of the German Heldenbuch lies beyond Constantinople, *über des meres stran* (Wolfdietrich, ii. 335). It is, in its chief features, the typical Fountain of Youth:

336. Si fuorte in in dem lande, den fürsten lobesam,
 für einen berc, dâ westes einen juncbrunnen stan,
 der was einhalb kalt und anderhalbe warm;
 dar in spranc diu froue, si bat sich got bewarn,
 337. Dô wart si getoufet. ê was si rûch Else genannt;
 nu hiez si frou Sigminne, diu schoenste ûbr alliu lant.
 si het die rûhen hât in den brunnen gelân.
 341. Dô sprach frou Sigminne, 'und wellestu schoene wesen,
 sô sprinc in den brunnen, so bistu wol genesen;
 so wirstu sam ein kindel von zwelf jâren' gar,
 schoen und minniglich'.

But just as the baptism in this extract, preceding the change of name, shows how the Fountain of Youth has become con-

¹ Quant treis faiz se est plunget, dunc se est rejuvened, in Wright's text. Wright sets the date soon after 1121. In Walberg, the lines cited are 2058-2060. The allusion to the Orient seems to belong to the original source (cf. F. M. Mann, in *Anglia*, ix. pp. 407-408).

² This rejuvenation is more complete than is usually considered desirable. From thirty to forty years is the ordinary 'youth,' manly strength, attained by means of the Fountain or otherwise. The Hindu defined a youth (i. e. one of mating age) as from sixteen-twenty to forty-forty-eight years (when 'age' begins). So, according to Gellius, x(xi), 28, the Roman 'junior' continued 'young' till the age of forty-six, when he became a senior. The same indefiniteness in Greek (Xen. Mem. i. 2. 35). Pythagoras makes an artificial distinction between *νεανίσκος* and *νεανίας*, giving two decades to each (20-40, 40-60), Diog. Laert., viii. 10. Solon's fifth heptad indicates the 'youth' of the Hindu, together with the chief object of rejuvenation. On the vague meaning of *νέος* in Greek literature, see Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 73.

fused with the Christian water of life, so in lower Teutonic mythology we find an admixture of the two. This is chiefly apparent in the fairy-stories, collections of which are not only subsequent to the propagation of Christianity in Germany and the North, but also subsequent to the famous and wide-spread collection of Straparola, which derives from the East and is initiated by the Tale of the Magical Horse, the "water of life" being here a grotesque accompaniment of a magical dismemberment *à la* Medea. Centuries after this tale was spread through Europe, we find in the Svenska Folksagor, collected by Cavallius and Stephens, in the Märchen collected by the Grimms, in the Slavic fairy-stories collected by Schleicher, in short in Scandinavia, Germany, Lithuania, even in Ireland and Russia,¹ a union of the Fountain of Youth and Water of Life, the two being here but variants of the same theme.

But at an earlier period, old Norse mythology knows nothing of a Fountain of Youth, nor is the German Queckprunno or Jungbrunnen to be understood in this sense till, as in the extract given above, Oriental influence has made itself felt. The Norn's spring of the Edda is a heavenly stream reaching to earth, of so mystic a character that it is not easy to define its nature, and not even of unquestioned Northern purity.² The springs and rivers of the Teutons were often less waters of life than founts of death. Such was the one described by Adam von Bremen, fons ubi sacrificia solent exerceri et homo vivus immergi;³ not for rejuvenation, but (for the same reason that makes the peasant fear the river on Midsummer's Day) because the stream demands a victim.⁴ On the other hand, certain springs were sacred, and the sacred bath was merged with Christian belief at an early date.⁵ But the nearest approach to a Fountain of

¹ Compare Schleicher's *Lit. Märchen*, p. 26; and see also Vogl, cited by Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 185. That Irish tales were influenced by Greek and Roman mythology even before 900 A. D., has been shown by Zimmer, *ZfdA.* xxxii. 196 f.

² The legend of Paradise in the Northern Saga is of course late; cf. Liebrecht on the Odainsakr (Gervasius, *Ot. Imp.*, note p. 63; Saxo Grammat., 'Udensakre'). The 'baby-springs' are not fountains of youth: they only produce children renewed above.

³ Compare Bugge, *Nordische Heldensagen* (Brenner, 1889), p. 532.

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iii. p. 318, gives illustrations of this wide-spread belief.

⁵ See on this point Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. p. 602.

Youth, in the strict sense, is to be found in those springs which had a beneficent and salutary effect on the health and complexion. At such places one bathed before sunrise, or one collected water at three sacred springs. But here the number alone shows that no one spring was regarded as a rejuvenator in a literal sense, though all were esteemed as medicinally useful.¹ The spring "bi Karnant" in Wolfram's *Parzival* (434) is distinctly an echo of Christian belief and belongs in the same class with the spring in which Wolddietrich was restored. All that is said here of magical water reflects this phase, and the tale otherwise may go back to the Persian original from which the whole poem is derived by Oppert.² The spring of continued life which preserves health for three hundred and three years, three months, three weeks, and three days,³ is taken directly from the forged letter of Prester John (see below), where it says: "de quo fonte si quis . . . gustaverit, ante CCC annos tres menses tres hebdomadas tres dies et tres horas non morietur et erit semper in aetate extremæ juventutis." The perpetual youth of Titurel, who reigned four hundred years, yet always seemed to be forty years old, is due wholly to the power of the mystic Sangreal.

It is then beside the mark when Kuhn compares as Indo-European the Hindu and European youth-springs. But it is more unhistorical when Alberg, in *Old Norse Fairy Tales* (a translation of Cavallius' and Stephen's collection), asserts by way of preface that the 'water of life' found in these tales is "common to the whole Aryan stock." The various versions of the story of the search for the water of life as they appear in Straparola, Grimm, and Cavallius, eventually derive from a single source.⁴ How thoroughly domesticated such tales become,

¹ Compare Grimm, *Myth.*⁴, i. p. 488 and Appendix, p. 167; Simrock, *Deutsche Myth.* §19. Golther's *Handbuch der Germ. Myth.* does not, I think, allude to this myth.

² Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, 3rd Anhang, p. 196: (Wir) "glauben . . . Persien als die Heimath jener [Parzival u. Gral] dunkelen Sagen bezeichnen zu dürfen."

³ *Mus. für Altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst*, i. p. 541. Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 45, compare *Rev.* xxii. 1.

⁴ For a different origin of the mystic spring (found in Beneoit's *Le Roman de Troie*), *ou nus n' aboivre* ("whence none drinks"), compare Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Here (twelfth century) Paris hunts in India (Inde for Ide, Mt. Ida!) and meets the three goddesses at this spring, which is sacredly remote, but has no further significance.

and how native to the soil they appear to be, may be seen by comparing the tale of *The Baker's Three Daughters*, as recorded by Mrs. Carey in her *Fairy Legends of the French Provinces*. After five or six centuries, the myth, first brought from the Orient and naturalized by the French trouvères, finds expression in an ordinary fairy story, which unites (as in the Teutonic parallels) the water of life and magical apples. What we find in Europe in these stories is the fairy-tale residuum not of old lore derived from remote Aryan ancestors, but of an Oriental myth brought to Europe from the Orient, or rather of two myths, which became united, that of the water of life and that of the Fountain of Youth. In the earliest European form of the fairy-tale, a water of life and revivification is united with the Medea motive. The nearest analogue to Medea's cauldron is the (Keltic) cauldron of Ceridwen, which in turn resembles, in its 'three drops' (seasons?) and its bursting, the famed vessel of the Vedic R̥bhus, who rejuvenated their parents: *jívrī yúvānā pitārā 'kr̥ṇotana*, RV. i. 110. 8 (cf. 3, the division of the vessel, *camasā*). Elsewhere in Europe, we find the three-brothers story, all evidently of a piece, and all, as Edgar Taylor said, "resembling one of the Arabian Nights," and with good reason, since they have a common origin.

In Straparola's tale of the magical horse, a hawk (in the Orient) fetches the hero a flask of the water of life, which comes from a spring guarded by two lions. The hero himself (although still young) is then beheaded; his chopped up remains are put into a kettle, moulded into the image of a man, and then sprinkled with the water of life. Thereupon the lifeless lump becomes a fine young man again, and the villain of the piece, the Sultan, is tempted to try his own luck. But when killed he remains dead, as the princess gives him no life-water.

The Old Norse story, as given in the *Svenska Folk-Sagor*, is as follows: A king grown old desires to escape death. He hears of a land of youth "many thousand miles away," where there is a strange kind of water and a priceless apple, and "whoever drinks of the water and eats of those apples will become young again." The king sends first his eldest son to fetch these wondrous treasures, but when the latter has gone away he forgets his mission, being entranced with a life of pleasure in a strange city. So also with the second son. But

the third son, when the others fail to return, and his father has fallen ill from grief and rage, starts out to find the treasures, and aided by three old crones,¹ who rule beasts, birds, and fishes, respectively, he is carried on the back of a whale many thousand miles, to find an enchanted castle, wherein are the water and apples. With these he rejuvenates the old crones, but before reaching his father's city he meets his two brothers, who take from him his treasures, and rejuvenate the king.

The German version (from Hesse, Paderborn, and other places) makes the eldest and second of three sons of an aged king voluntary searchers for the 'water of life,' but they treat rudely a dwarf, who stops their progress. The third son then starts off. He treats the dwarf well and the latter tells him where to find the water, which is guarded by two lions in an enchanted castle. The prince gets the water, releases his brothers from the predicament in which the dwarf had left them, and then starts on a voyage homeward (after passing through various countries). The elder brothers cheat the youngest, as in the Old Norse story, and themselves give the king the water, which cures him, so that he feels strong and well as in his youth. One version has five sons.

In the Irish tale, a king's sight can be restored only by means of a certain spring; or, according to another version, a queen can be restored thus, and each of her three daughters goes after the water (and finds also the frog-lover, who must be decapitated to become a prince—but that is another myth).²

On Slavic soil, there is the Lithuanian tale (in Schleicher's collection) of the king who loses the sight of his eyes. His three sons go for a flask of water, which, however much is poured out, still remains full. The three clever brothers trick

¹ He is passed on from one to the other. This motive occurs in the twenty-fifth tale of the Hindu Kathāsaritsāgara, and has many other parallels.

² "Holy healing wells," says J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, "are common all over the Highlands." In one of these the people bathe (or drink of it) before sunrise on the first Tuesday in June, to cure headache and other ills, and one well restores to life. The Keltic Apple-land, Avalon, or 'Island of Brazil,' is a Land of Youth rather than of rejuvenation. It has the "Avlon apples" as its name imports, ii. 131, 134, 358; iv. 265, 323 (the tale referred to above). For Irish wells, see also *Man*, 1903, p. 76.

the youngest son, as in the versions already referred to, and get for themselves the credit of renewing their father's sight. Among the Russians, one of Ralston's tales is a reproduction of this story of three brothers and rejuvenation.¹

It is clear that these tales are really one, and that like *The Baker's Daughters*, they rest upon the vital search for that water and fountain referred by mediæval writers to the Orient. If this myth had existed in immemorial antiquity, it should have been brought to the fore in the older traditions of Greece, Rome, Germany, and Scandinavia. But in all these Aryan countries there is no real Fountain of Youth (in the Hindu sense), and, till Christian influence has been felt, no water of life, which, on the other hand, as in Straparola, is brought from the Orient as an essential part of a fairy-tale. It is not till European writers are in closer touch with the Orient that they begin to unite the 'water of life' with the Fountain of Youth. There is of course the Greek and Keltic western Paradise, but in the latter it is only modern sagas which makes the aged go thither to obtain youth, and the western Paradise or (later) the eastern Happy Land is after all not an earthly place and has no earthly water.

Of great interest in connection with the duplicate myth of the water of life and the Fountain of Youth is the Wend tradition. The story of the three brothers and the lions' fountain appears here, much as in the German form (Veckenstedt, *Wendische Sagen*, p. 221); but there is no Fountain of Youth, only the "water of life." A very peculiar form appears in another Wend legend given by Karl Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, p. 248.

¹ Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 235. The Russian Skazka is markedly under Oriental influence. In only this one of Ralston's many examples is it said that the water rejuvenates, and in this story the water comes out of a very peculiar fountain, namely a maiden! She is a sort of Brynhild (the same story in Curtiss's *Myth and Folktales of the Russians*, p. 72). Perhaps even here the idea is a reflex of Christian belief in a living fountain "drawn from Immanuel's veins." Otherwise, this special tale agrees closely with the three brothers story (above in the Svenska form); but all the other tales are of "waters of strength and weakness," or of healing, revivifying and destructive power. These waters of 'death and life' act like the double Hindu charms, which heal and revivify. The motive of the different sons, by the way, is not lacking in the Hindu tale of Yayāti (above, p. 3). Here the father asks each of five sons to take age from him and only the last consents.

It furnishes an excellent example of the way in which the idea of the Fountain of Youth, when once known, is adapted to other tales, which originally are devoid of this picturesque element. The completed legend embracing the Fountain is as follows. A girl still wore her virgin's wreath, though she had secretly borne nine children, each of whom she had killed. *For she knew a Fountain of Youth and, bathing in this, recovered on each occasion her youth, beauty, and virginal appearance.* On the tenth occasion, however, *as she was going to the Fountain to bathe again*, an old man discovered the deception, and as she crossed the churchyard the spectres of the murdered children came and killed her; or, according to another version, she simply disappeared:

Nichts weiter war von ihr zu sehen,
Nichts weiter als ihr gelbes Haar.

The special importance of this tale lies in the fact that the Fountain is not an integral part of the legend. For though the modern tale has this feature, as related in the *Sagenbuch*, yet the two songs in Haupt and Schmalers *Volkslieder* know nothing of it! Both the version of Oberlausitz and that of Niederlausitz (*op. cit.*, i. 287 and ii. 149) represent Aria (or her nameless double) as going out on a Sunday morn to fetch water, the impurity of which, though drawn from a pure spring, reveals to the sagacious old man that she is no better than she should be. One version even leaves out the murder; both agree in giving no hint of rejuvenation. Aria deceived, perhaps by hellish arts; for in one version the devil finally carries her away. The Fountain of Youth does not belong to the original tale, which is unquestionably that of the *Volkslied*.

European tradition has in its tales of virtuous wells three elements, the holy well (sacred or prophetic) or the healing well, the two sometimes being united, the well of good things, and the well of the water of life. The last is of Christian origin as far as Europe is concerned. The healing well may even revivify. Thus the English *Gesta Romanorum* contains no case of a rejuvenating well, but it has a well which revives the dead (tale xxv. p. 343, Extra Series, No. xxxiii of the *Early English Texts*). English water also as well as Keltic restores vigor. One case not mentioned in Brand is perhaps worth citing in

full,¹ especially since it is a good example of the difference between the mere spring of recuperation and the spring of rejuvenation. The Brand-Ellis edition of the *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ii. p. 366 ff., gives a list of wells and fountains dedicated to saints and "almost as sanative as the Pool of Bethesda." Thus we find St. Winifride's (Holywell) in Wales, and St. Eustace's in Kent, which cure sickness; a well at Oundle in Northamptonshire, which presages disaster; the Madern well in Cornwall, which gives oracles; and the Wishing-wells at Walsingham; while fountains or wells are worshipped, as they are in Greece, Rome, Germany, etc., and circumambulated, as they are in India. Thus the Lochsiant well in Skie is believed to be a specific for several diseases. "The common people make the ordinary tour about it, called *dessil*, which is performed thus: they move thrice around the well, proceeding sun-ways, from east to west, and so on." But of all those mentioned not one is credited with the power of restoring youth. It is also, as far as I know, impossible to find an original case of rejuvenation by means of a fountain not situated either in the Orient or in some magic land, such as that affected by the writers of romance. An example of the latter case is probably shown in the following, to which Professor Lang has kindly called my attention.

In Cancionero de Baena's collection (Madrid, 1851) of Castilian court poetry (composed between 1350 and 1450), there is a stanza in a poem of Fray Diego de Valencia (1380-1410), which refers to a fountain, in which if one bathes one becomes agreeably changed, in a way perhaps indicating rejuvenation. Such at least appears to be the implication in the statement that "sweetness deceives" the bather, coupled with the words "perennial" and "very strange" in the description of the stream (fountain, river) of the mountain-garden (No. 505, 2):

¹ In Britannia majore, episcopatu Conventrensi et comitatu de Staford, ad radicem montis, cui Mahul indigenae nomen indiderunt, est aqua in modum paludis amplae diffusa, in territorio villae, quam Magdaleam dicunt. In hac palude aqua est limpidissima et sylvae infinitae continua, quae tantam habet in resumendis corporum viribus efficaciam, quod quoties venatores cervos aliasve feras insecuti fuerunt usque ad equorum lassitudinem, si in ipso aestuantis solis ardore aquam gustaverint ac equis exposuerint hauriendam, sic amissas currendi vires reparant, quod non cucurrissent dietam sed vix attigisse iam coeptam arbitreris. Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 974.

En muy espesa montaña
 Este vergel fue plantado,
 De todas partes cercado,
 De rybera muy estraña.
 Al que una vez se baña
 En sa fuente perenal,
 Segun curso natural,
 Ha dulçuro lo engaña.

In several particulars the tale of the three brothers and their search as told in Europe coincides with features found in the Arabian Nights and later Persian romances. Thus the enchanted horse of Straparola (and Chaucer), the search for some restorative, the lions that guard a wondrous fountain, are such features. The German version (above) bears the closest resemblance to the tale of Ahmad, but in the latter the lions' fountain has only revivifying power. The Irish tale again, and the Lithuanian tale in Schleicher's collection, are like that of the *gul-i-Bakāwālī* and the story of Hatim Tai, as told in Clauston's *Eastern Romances*. But the restoratives are here a rose and a drop of the tree Nandar in Zulmāt ("the region of darkness, where is also the water of life"; Clauston, p. 520). To these may be added, from the Nights, the story of Parizadeh and her search for the "golden water," which is never exhausted. There are here three searchers, of whom the last alone is successful, and the water, which is on the summit of a mountain, can restore to life those who have been transformed into rocks. This whole tale appears, with local modifications, as a native (Keltic?) French fairy story (*The Baker's Daughters*), with the singing water, talking bird, and magic apple all represented. From these parallels may be drawn the conclusion that the frame of the European story reverts to the Arabian version or that they both have a common origin.¹ But within this frame there is

¹ The Persian version substitutes for three brothers two brothers and a sister; the Keltic version turns all three into girls. Elsewhere the three are brothers, the trio still preserved, perhaps, in the numerous American families (of eight or nine generations) who independently trace their origin to "three brothers who came to America in the seventeenth century to seek their fortune." How widespread this myth is, may easily be learned by casual inquiry. I once sat at table with half a dozen unrelated people, four of whom stated that this was their "family legend." Of the four, three admitted that it was a legend without historical foundation, "a myth"; one insisted that it was "certain."

this difference, that in no one of the analogous Arabian (Persian) tales is there to be found a Fountain of Youth. The water revivifies, revitalizes, it is curative (like the rose, etc.), but it does not rejuvenate. This element in the tale cannot, therefore, have come from the Arabian Nights.

On the other hand, the "water of life," while thoroughly Semitic, was at an early date associated with the vague land called 'India' (see below), and for this reason, in the combination of the two myths, India is usually the land where is located the "Fountain of Youth from Paradise." This European idea starts with the patristic identification of one of the rivers in Paradise with a river of 'India,' logically resulting in the location of the water of life in the same country and romantically continuing with the tale of Alexander. There were already two Rabbinical legends on the same theme. Elias found this water of life and in consequence he still lives on earth.¹ Solomon also procured the water and might have been alive now, but he refused to drink it, preferring to die rather than outlive his female favorites.²

After these tales (probably before the tenth century), came to Europe the story of Alexander's visit to India, long before known in the Middle East. According to this tradition, Alexander went to India to search for the water of life and found there apples, the eating of which gave the Hindus a life of four hundred years: *haec arbores poma faciunt, quorum esu sacerdotes illarum quadringentis annis vivunt*. Gervasius, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 895. This latter statement has no support in native tradition and is probably due either to the tale of Avalon (such apples, not to speak of the Greek, being native to Keltic and Teutonic mythology) or to Semitic belief. The panacean apple, for example, is an element in the tale of Ahmad in the Arabian Nights. But Alexander's quest for the water of life is rather an incident of his journey, and, as related in some of the versions (cf. Budge, *Alexander the Great*, p. 93), the king is amazed that anyone should ask for immortality. So the Latin

¹ Compare the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. India has a modern counterpart to this in the story of Munisidh, a great saint of the sixteenth century, who, rather than live under Moslem rule, retired to a cave in Dholpur, where he still hides himself. *Raj. Gaz.* i. 267.

² Clauston, *Eastern Romances*, p. 520.

and Middle English versions expand this text into a homily, though according to the poem of Jacob of Serûg (see below) Alexander, once on the ground, did try to find the fountain which had revived the dead fish. In the *ad Arist. de rebus Indiae mirabilibus epistola*, Alexander visits the two prophetic trees of the sun and moon, which speak Sanskrit and Greek, *utraque lingua solis arbor pronunciat futura; lunae graeco sermone incipit indico finit* (*The Wars of Alexander*, 5009, says of the sun-tree that it 'entris in with yndoyes & endis in greke');¹ but when the hermits ask him to give them immortal life ('sire, nevire to dee, quod thai then, bot evire dure o lyve') he stoutly maintains, 'Be driztin, sirs I am a duke dedelike myself'. The priests say, 4284, 'For thar leves no lede in oure lande langire than othire. If he be sexti yere of sowme that a segge lastis, His successoure has bot the same'. It is beyond India where is found the *terra quam mors nulla tentavit*; cf. *Wars*, 5503, where Alexander finds an island when he comes "to the oceyan at the erthes ende." In *Alexander and Dindimus*, 138 (as in early theological literature), Phison is identified with the Ganges "from perlese Paradis," and the island in the extreme Orient is itself Paradise, the *Paradisus insula in oceano in oriente* of Lambertus Floridus (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, i. p. 253), which made it so natural to describe Bimini and Florida as islands; though the general idea of an island of felicity is as old as Plato, and the "happy isle" of Socotra (near India) had long been known.²

¹ Talking trees are not yet out of fashion. The State of Kentucky (as I learn from the N. Y. Times of Feb. 6, 1905) has such a wonder: "The voice (emanating from the tree) can be distinctly heard, and says 'there are treasures buried at my roots.'" The people are too frightened to dig for the treasure! On the connection between the Sun-tree and the *arbre sec*, see Col. Yule's notes to Marco Polo, i. p. 137.

² The Phison of Paradise is identified now with the Ganges (Pseudo-Kallisthenes), now with the Indus (Kosmas Indikopleustes, ii. p. 117, sixth century).

³ For the various versions of the Alexander-myth, see Budge, *op. cit.*; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*; and M. Gaster, *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 530 (on a Hebrew version). In the last account, a man who has drunk of the water of life is not rejuvenated, but he becomes so immortal that when beheaded he still lives as a "headless man of the sea."

From the vague 'Orient' as home of the Fountain, the *Voiage and Travails* of Sir John Mandeville leads us to this more definite locality. He places the Fountain in India (identifying it with the water of Paradise), only ten days journey from the place where St. Thomas' church was to be found. Here the "Lond of Lomb" has a great mountain¹ above the city of "Polumbe," and at the foot of this mount (he says) "is a fayr Welle and a gret, that hath odour and savour of alle Spices; and at every hour of the day, he changethe his odour and his savour dyversely. And whoso drynkethe 3 tymes fasting of that Watre of that Welle, he is hool of alle maner sykenesse, that he hathe. And thei that duellen there and drynken often of that Welle, thei never han sykenesse, and thei semen alle weys yong. I have dronken thereof 3 or 4 sithes, and yit, methinkethe, I fare the better. Sum men clepen it the Welle of Youthe: for thei that often drynken there of, semen alle ways yongly, and lyven withouten Sykenesse. And men seyn, that that Welle comethe out of Paradys: and therefore it is so vertuous." But if this dates from the fourteenth century, it is but an expansion of what was taught in the twelfth, although neither William of Boldensele nor Friar Odoric of Pordenone (b. 1286, d. 1331), whose works are supposed to be the source of the romance of Sir John's,² mentions a Fountain of Youth. For the famous letter of Prester John (in regard to whom Sir John has much to say) narrates (c. 1160-1165) that the "river Indus" encircles Paradise, and that in this India at the foot of Mt. Olympus (i. e. Alumbo, Sir John's Polumbe) there is, only three days' journey from Paradise, a spring, threefold tasting

¹ The great mountain is an essential part of the description, as Paradise, from which comes the fountain, is located at the top of a mountain, which, according to some writers, rose to the moon, an opinion stigmatized (I am pleased to see) as a manifest figment by the judicious Johannes Hopkinsonius. See the note to Yule's *Cathay*, ii. p. 326. Polumbe or Columbus is Kulam on the S. Indian coast, in Yule's opinion. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, p. 55, derives the name from Colombo in Ceylon.

² Yule says that "the substance of his travels to the Indies and Cathay is entirely stolen from Odoric, though largely amplified with fables from Pliny and other ancients, as well as from his own imagination." *Cathay*, i. p. 27.

of which restores vigor and makes one as long as life lasts like a man of thirty.¹

Whether India was the real source of the story, I shall inquire presently. But first, to finish with the Occident: Ponce de Leon was certainly not ignorant of this phase of the widespread myth, which placed the Fountain of Youth in India. He set out for the West Indies² in the belief that he was going to India by way of the Occident. That he went for the purpose of discovering the Fountain is not susceptible of proof. On the contrary, modern historians are inclined to think that, like others of his time, he journeyed primarily for gold and glory.³ But, hearing of the medicinal and healing spring of Florida, he naturally interpreted it in the light of his previous knowledge as being the Fount of Youth. Even Peter Martyr, who took the same view, gives us an account which shows

¹ Si quis de illo fonte ter gustaverit, nullam infirmitatem illa die patietur semperque erit quasi triginta annorum quamdiu vixerit. A popular account of this letter is given by Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, i. p. 252. The Latin text is contained in the valuable historical essay of Gustav Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*. The letter mentions other wonderful springs besides that of rejuvenation. Compare the one in the palace at "Brichbrich," which Oppert thinks, p. 48, may be the Punjab, where, as will be seen, arose the myth of the Fountain. This fountain recuperates and gives the effect of having provided food. So in the native Hindu tradition the fountain supplies food (see p. 50). There is also a river of jewels, like that in the Sindbad story, from which Oppert derives it.

² Indies (plural) implies the various Indies of India itself. As India and Ethiopia were confounded by classic writers, so in the middle ages there was the 'India minor quae est Ethiopia.' To Marco Polo, 'middle India' was Abyssinia. The word India itself in 800 A. D. comprised the whole world outside of Europe and Africa, and later travellers made 'India minor' extend from Persia to the Indus (or to Malabar); 'India major' from 'minor' to the end of the world (or to the Ganges); while 'India tertia' was 'Zanjibar' (or China), according to varied interpretations. For authorities, see Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 419.

³ Compare Professor Bourne's *Spain in America* (*The Am. Nation*, vol. 3), p. 184, as to Ponce de Leon's voyage being undertaken to verify the Indian tradition: "Of this there is no hint in the patent." So Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States*, p. 159: "It is certainly remarkable that, in direct contradiction to the gossip of the time, which has survived to our day, and which ascribed his first expedition to a search for the fountain of perpetual youth, his patents and grants make no mention of it."

plainly that the spring was rather a source of strength than of youth. As reference to the subject is generally made only to the passage in the tenth chapter of the second decade, it will be necessary to compare this with the further account in the seventh decade. The former passage is as follows :¹ "There is an ilande named Boiuca or Agnaneo, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual sprynge of runnyng water of such marvelous vertue, that the water thereof beinge dronk, perhappes with sume dyete, maketh owld men younge ageyne." It is to be remarked that the dietary addition is not in the other version of the same passage of Peter Martyr, where the Latin has only *ut ejus fontis aqua epota senes reinvenescat*. This is the passage commonly cited, for example by Brinton, in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* (1859), and by Harris, in his *Discovery of North America*. But it is worth while to set beside this the narrative of the islander "greivously oppressed with old age" in the later description:² "He went from his native ilande neere unto the country of Florida, to drinke of the desired fountaine, as our countrimen doe from Rome or Naples to the Puteolane bathes, for the recovery of their health. Hee went and stayed and havinge well drunke and washed himselfe for many dayes, with the appointed remedies by them who kept the bathe, hee is reported to have brought home a manly strength, and to have used all manly exercises, and that hee married againe, and begatt children."

This is not, therefore, a true Fountain of Youth, but a sulphur spring or something of that sort, where one undergoes a regular treatment at the hands of attendants at the bath, and having stayed a considerable time, drinking and bathing in the water according to a prescribed regimen, returns home and feels himself a man again; which might be said of many medicinal springs, either in sober earnest or in exaggerated form, without a concomitant belief in the youth-restoring virtues of the water. In the confusion of names³ there seems really to have been but

¹ Peter Martyr, in Hakluyt, vol. v. (Englished by York, 1597).

² Dec. 7, cap. 7.

³ Boiuca, Bonica, Agnaneo, and Beniny or Bimini or Bimani (the 'island' where the fountain was situated). Lucaya, in the following account, is the Bahama Islands.

one fountain intended to represent the Fountain of Youth, while others are admitted to be only medicinal springs.¹

Of the two New World cases referred to by Del Rio,² one is certainly in this category: *Lusitanicae historiae recentiores scriptores, fidei probatissimae, commemorant longa narratione et certa cuidam Indo Nobili, annorum quibus vixit trecentorum, et quadraginta spacio, iuventae florem ter exaruisse, et ter refluuisse.*³ Nec desunt, qui in eodem orbe novo quādam

¹ There are at present two springs in Florida alone, each of which claims to be the real Fountain of Youth sought by Ponce de Leon. One of these is the famous Silver Spring (a few miles from Ocala), best described by Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*. The other is the Green Cove spring on the St. John. Only the latter is a mineral (sulphur) spring. How long the tradition of a life-giving spring has retained its hold on the Indians is illustrated by the statement of J. T. Sprague (*Hist. of the Florida War*, p. 328), cited by Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 135, that Coacooche, the Seminole chief, who died in 1841, dreamed he had drunk a cup of water "from the spring of the Great Spirit," which would make him "live forever." As an item in the history of this legend, I may add that just before the civil war my father spent the winter in the South and, according to family tradition, I was myself, with affectation of ceremony, bathed in one of the Floridian Fountains of Youth, presumably as a prophylactic, since I was then "of greener age" than the usual subject of this experiment.

² *Disquisitiones magicae*, lib. ii. quaestio xxiii (An possit daemon seni iuventam reddere?), Venetiis (1616, p. 192).

³ The classical authorities for the long life of the Hindus (see below, note, p. 29) are here reinforced by a more recent case, a reference to which is given by Del Rio in his notes. Peter Maffei, *Hist. ind.*, lib. vndec., says: Quidam ē Gangaridum gente, quam hodie Bengalam vocant, ad Praetorem adiit, natus, vt ferebatur, annos trecentos triginta quinque, etc. For other cases, Del Rio refers to Ferd. Castannedali lib. 8 (presumably Lopes de Castanheda's *History of the Conquest of India*, which I have not at hand). The thrice repeated rejuvenation mentioned by Del Rio may possibly revert to the *triyāyusa* or "three life-time" myth of the Hindus themselves, AV. v. 28. 7; JUB. iv. 3. 1, etc. Two seers and the gods enjoy "three-age" life, somewhat lamely explained by the native commentators as a life of three stages, childhood, youth, and age. The two seers in the Atharvan are Jamadagni and Kaśyapa. In TBr. iii. 10. 11. 3 ff., cited above, Bharadvāja also has lived "three life-times," when Indra offers him a fourth. The natural interpretation of *triyāyusa* (*tryāyusa*) applied to man would be "having three (normal) life-periods," or living "through three generations, and in this sense it would be merely a counterpart of Laevius' 'trisaecliisnax,' applied to Nestor (Gell. xix. 7). Very probably this was the original application :

insulam repertam testentur: Bonicam nomine, in qua fons scaturiat, cuius aqua, vino preciosior, pota senium cum iuvēta commutat: quamvis de simili in Lucaya fonte narrationem ortam ex regionis situ salubriore non immeritò conijciat Petr. Chieza par. 2. hist. Peru. c. 41. verum sive in Bonica, sive in Lucaya, sive utrobique talis fons manat, facile video, quam haec nonnullis incredibilia videantur: sed illi cogitent: huiusmodi narrationibus, à quibus rectae Philosophiae ratio non abhorreat, quia ipse nihil tale videris, fidem detrahare, singularis esse proterviae, et impudentiae: qui verò quid ubique gestum fuerit, vel non fuerit, id de sua duntaxat opinione, aut assensione decernunt, insaniae assidere.

Even in the first account of Peter Martyr, the expression "maketh owld men younge ageyne," though intended here as a literal statement, may remind us that such a phrase can be used when the effect is merely that of invigoration. Very likely the fount of rejuvenation arises in some cases, such, for example, as that of the Jugendbrunnen near Görlitz, from a literal interpretation of what was at first meant to be taken metaphorically. A good example of (metaphorical) rejuvenation is furnished by the account of the "Beer-brewing" in the Kalevala, when it is said: "The beer of Kalevala strengthens the weak, cheers the sick, and makes the old young again."

That the native report of the spring which healed after sufficient time and regular bathing was taken up by the early discoverers, who had long heard of the Fountain of Youth and thought that they were at last in the proper place to find it, there can be no doubt. But as little doubt, perhaps, that the Spanish interpretation gave virtue to the spring, intensifying its properties to a greater degree than was dreamed of in the philosophy of the Redskin. It is not without significance that

but Hindu tales are not lacking in which a man lives three life-times literally, being reborn and living a normal period again in threefold life (of one generation each). Thus the Abbé Dubois says he has read "in some Indian book" of a Brahman and his wife who were both reborn in this way: "In the enjoyment of abundant riches, and of all the gifts that nature can bestow, they saw three generations pass away, being reborn each time they reached the ordinary term of human life." *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, i. p. 250 (Dubois and Beauchamp). So, in Arabian legend, St. George died thrice and thrice rose from the dead (Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, i. p. 105).

although magical rejuvenation is not unknown, yet, on the whole continent, dotted as it is with mineral springs, the idea of any one of these being a Fountain of Youth, in the Oriental sense of a spring giving immediate rejuvenation, appears only there where the Spanish gave their own interpretation to native belief.¹

Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, ed. 1831, i. p. 120) alludes to the traditions "so circumstantially detailed by the natives of some of the islands of the Pacific, especially in the Hawaiian account of the voyage of Kamapiikai, to the land where the inhabitants enjoyed perpetual health and youthful beauty, where the *wai ora* (life-giving fountain) removed every internal malady, and external deformity and decrepitude, from all those who were plunged beneath its salutary waters."

¹ What Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 89, says of Columbus, "fired by the hope of discovering" in America a "terrestrial paradise," may be offset by the further statement that this "was but another rendering of the same belief" that located El Dorado in Orinoko. Also the Garden of Eden "still to the West, in Paria," of which Columbus heard, implies no myth of rejuvenation. De Soto also, in Brinton's opinion, struck west (to Arizona) with the magic fountain as his chief objective. But, despite the Ozarks, there is no western tradition of the fountain-myth. The nearest approach to a rejuvenating body of water known to me in America besides Bimini (Brinton's other examples are merely baths for health or holy baptismal waters) is the Atagāhī lake, lying between North Carolina and Tennessee. This is an enchanted invisible lake in which, according to the Cherokee legend, wounded beasts may immerse themselves and cure their wounds. But no man can see it (J. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, p. 322, in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1900). I have searched vainly for any parallel to the myth through the legends of the Navahos, Thompson River Indians, Micmacs, and Californians, as well as those of the Northwest; as given in the *Memoirs of the Folk-Lore Society*, and by Rand, Leland, Boas, and Petitot, respectively. Matthews' collection (from Schoolcraft) has nothing on this point, nor have Grinnell's tales (of the Pawnee and Blackfoot tribes); though we find allusions to a drink which teaches one to see "the truth of things as they are" (tale of 'Toad-woman' in Matthews), and rejuvenation by means of magic food, the Grizzle's medicine, and by spiritual influences (in 'The Red Swan,' 'The Son of the Evening Star'). Thus, 'Nothing Child' is rejuvenated into an infant on eating his own lodge and becomes a man again on ejecting this peculiar food, etc. Brinton evidently knew of no parallel, or he would have cited it in his two disquisitions on this subject. For the Ozark legend, see p. 51 and p. 57, note.

This is cited by Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* in proof of his contention that the myth of the Fountain of Youth (or life, he does not distinguish them) is one of the universal myths, due to primitive veneration for water as the female element. Ellis himself compares the account of Mandeville and the story of "Binini," but he is inclined to think the Polynesian fable is borrowed, either from India (through the Malays) or from America. The *wai ora*, however, is not really comparable with the Fountain of Youth. The function of this fount is not to restore youth to the aged on earth, but to remove sickness and weakness and make immortal in an unearthly paradise, which in Polynesia bears the same relation to the earth ordinarily habitable for mortals as do in India the Land of the Northern Kurus,¹ in China the Islands of Immortals in the ocean, and in Greece the land of the blessed Hyperboreans, where, as Pindar says,

νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ.

The Polynesians also have "apples of healing," as recorded by Gill in his *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, but they are only for the gods. The *wai ora* idea may derive neither from India nor from America but from the missionaries! With a people of so imaginative and poetic a mythology as the Polynesians, it would not be strange if such a striking figure as

¹ The Northern Kurus live for "ten thousand and ten hundred years," in a land of perpetual bloom, where they drink "ambrosia-like milk of the milk-trees," and are ever free from illness (Mbh. vi. 7. 1 f.). They are referred to by Megasthenes, Strabo, xv. 57, etc. The paradise of Yama-Yima was originally of the same character, having "imperishable food" for people "free from dying," who remain always youths "without age or death," Yasna, ix. 4-5. The waters, duly worshipped, grant to the Mazdayasnian glory, long life, and heaven; also they are medicinal, Yasna, lxvii(i), and li(i), but they do not confer renewed youth. At a late date, Albîrûnî says (Sachau, *Chronology*, p. 209): "All the Persians agree that Bêvarasp lived 1,000 years, although some of them say that he lived longer, and that the 1,000 years are only the time of his rule and tyranny. People think that the Persian mode of salvation, according to which the one wishes the other to live as long as 1,000 years—I mean the words *Hazâr sâl bazî*—comes down from that time, because they thought it was allowed and possible (that a man should live 1,000 years)." Even Feridun lived 500 years!

the water of life were transformed into (*wai ora*) ambrosia, partaken of by the blessed of old in an unknown earthly paradise. The myth seems to be quite unknown save to Ellis himself, and Gill says expressly (p. 166) that the Avaiki myth of the first men coming from the 'down-land,' Avaiki (the spirit-world, underworld), has been changed to the myth of an earthly paradise 'down,' in the West, "since the introduction of Christianity." The heaven or paradise of the Polynesians generally is in the sky in the case of brave warriors, but the ordinary dead go below (and even heaven is beneath the sea in Samoa); while it is from the underworld that their ancestors came. So Veëtinī, the "first mortal who ever died a natural death," goes "down to nether-land," with the setting sun, the "true home of the major divinities" (Gill, pp. 32, 181). Gill himself (p. 5) says that the 'sacred isle' is in the shades (below earth).

It is scarcely worth while to pursue the fleeing Fountain through such other wilds as had been more or less exposed to Muhammadan and Christian influence prior to the announcement that the water of life or a 'fountain' of youth was discovered there. In the case of the queer "fountain" cited by Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 207, from Bickmore's *Travels in the East India Archipelago*, p. 297, the "fountain" (of Buru, one of the Molucca islands) is "a plant, which possesses the wondrous power of making every one who holds it in his hands young again." This plant, to be sure, grows beside a mountain lake; but a plant that rejuvenates when held in the hand can scarcely be called a Fountain of Youth. The nativity of the tale is dubious (though offered as an example of native legends), since Buru was under foreign influence.

In China, the river of life is only a reflex of the Occidental tales concerning Cathay. According to Ibn Batuta, the river of life discharges itself into the sea at Canton. He saw there (in 1347) a man over two hundred years old and says that "at Sinkalan (Canton) the river called the water of life discharges itself into the sea at a place which they call the confluence of the seas."¹ The old man, it appears, was a Hindu whom The

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, ii. pp. 488, 490. China and Japan had fruits and isles of youth (Lie-tsz, c. 400 B. C.), but no Fount of Youth. Cf. Edkins, *China Review*, xiii. 411; Williams, *Smithson. Rep.*, 1900, p. 590. The Chinese themselves sought in India the 'elixir of life.'

Traveller had previously met on the western coast of India.¹

¹ Yule, *loc. cit.*, remarks on the longevity of Muhammadan saints; but those cases cited are all of India or near it (the Hindu Kush, Herat, etc.). One lived for three hundred and fifty years; another, Shah Madar (a Hindu), was born A. D. 1050 and died in 1433. But that is a mere bagatelle. Once, "when Rāma was king," he got the gods to restore life to a Brahman boy: "He was dead, the boy, a mere child; he had not yet reached middle age, he was only five thousand years old; untimely had he died, to his father's great woe, the little son," R. vii. 73. 1-5. For in the (recurrent) golden age of the Hindus man lives 10,000 years, and only gradually comes to shortened existence. Rāma, at the beginning of the second (Tretā) age, lived eleven thousand, and Sagara, thirty thousand years, R. i. 41; vii. 51. Since 'Ethiopians' and 'Indians' are not very clearly distinguished, it is worth noting that though Herodotus says that the 'Padaean' Indians do not generally live to old age (being cut off in their prime), he speaks of a fountain which causes the Ethiopians to live to the age of 120 (iii. 23, 99; he cites one native case nearer home of a man who lived to the age of 150, as if it were quite credible, i. 163). The fountain resembles the one described by Ktesias (see below) as being in India. Ktesias himself (B. C. 398) gives 120, 130, and 150 as usual ages of the Hindus, but "the very old live to 200" (Arrian, *cit.*, *Ind. Ant.*, x. p. 300). This was also a trait of all Utopias. For example, in that of Iamboulos, the inhabitants live (as do those of Ceylon in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes) to the age of 150 (Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 203, note 5; 229). Lassen thinks that this Utopia is really Ceylon (or Bali). Important is the fact that in none of these Utopias is there rejuvenation. On the contrary, when old age arrives the Utopians kill themselves by means of a plant which gives an easy death. Thus Onesikritos, who sets the age of some of the Hindus as 130 (one of Isigonos' 'incredibilia' also, if the statement comes from the Apista, is that the Indian Cyrni live to 140), reports that these Hindus do not suffer from age, but "die as if they were of middle life" (ut medio aevo mori), Pliny, vii. 2; Strabo, xv. 34. Dion Chrysostom (Orat. xxxv. 434) expresses this clearly in saying that the Hindu life-time is never less than forty years and "for all this time they are in the bloom of youth and they know neither old age, nor disease, nor want." The "wonderful fountain" extolled by Dion in the next paragraph is not one of rejuvenation but the fountain of truth or probation (ordeal). One hundred years was as long as the Vedic Hindus usually prayed to live, śate śaratsu no purā, AV. xviii. 2. 38. The Seres are said by Strabo to live even longer than the Hindus, namely, "more than 200 years" (*loc. cit.* and *ib.* 37). It is curious that the Greek and Latin authors should have made so much of the age of the Hindus, when they had their own long list of centenarians, and men who lived to the age of 120 (a very possible tradition) and 150, not to speak of the Sibyl of a thousand years of age (as given in Phlegon), which was the regular age of the ancients (Hellanikos, Fr. 89), while the

A land beyond Cathay where one never grows older is recognized (as a fabulous country) by Rubruquis in 1253.¹

In Africa, there is a tradition of the revivifying waters of an earthly Paradise among the Masai people in the steppes east of the Kilimandsharo; but whether, as Col. Merker believes, these people are of Semitic origin, or whether they have received their belief from the Arabs, the views themselves are too clearly Semitic to pass as an addition to the store of myths on this subject.

Thus far the Fountain has been traced in general to the Orient, where it was located by the trouvères, and in particular to India, where it was located in the twelfth century by the letter ascribed to Prester John. It is thus placed in the same vague longitude as the "happy land," which in the fourth century A. D. was still supposed by the author of an *Expositio totius mundi* to be in the extreme Orient, where was the earlier Utopia of Iamboulos.² This was, indeed, to be expected. Where the Terrestrial Paradise was located and the Utopias of antiquity and of the dark ages had been imagined, would naturally be the home of the Fountain. But the means of communication in the case of this particular story would neither be the

Epirotes lived 200 years (Val. Max. and Pliny). The belief in Hindu longevity was doubtless founded on such actual examples of old age as even in this day excite the wonder of the Occidental who sees a Hindu surrounded by great-great-great-grandchildren. Some even claim a tritavian age, but without any tangible proof. The ignorant Irish and negroes, who boast of similar ages and are cited in every newspaper to-day, form a parallel. Thus Mary McDonald was reported by the N. Y. press as "aged 134" on Nov. 12, 1904, the date of birth being "on record." A striking parallel to Greek belief is offered by the combined efforts of Lord Bacon and Mr. Whitehurst. They gravely repeat the tale of Marcus Aponius of Rimino, who in 76 A. D. was still alive at the age of 150. He lived in the favored region between the Apennine Mts. and the Po, where, at the same date, there were four men of 135-137, three of 140 years, etc. Let us add the case of Dumiter Radaly, who died Jan. 16, 1782, aet. 140; of Thomas Parre, d. Nov. 16, 1635, aet. 152; and above all of that renowned Henry Jenkins, "whose term of longevity is on authentic record" as 169 years, the same being of Yorkshire and dying Dec. 8, 1670, "the oldest man born upon the ruins of this post-diluvian world" (Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, i. p. 384),—and mock no more at the credulous Phlegon's list or the classical writers cited in Lassen, i². p. 613.

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. cxxxvi.

² Rodhe, p. 240. Iamboulos' date is uncertain, "before the time of Augustus," Rohde says.

tales of Sindbad the Sailor, as Oppert¹ thinks, nor "the Moors," as a recent writer maintained;² still less the general "folk-lore" of John Fiske.³ There remain, however, other possibilities. First as to the Nestorians, who were well acquainted with India. From them, in all probability, came the letters of Prester John about 1165. Second, a still more direct means of communication, the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were in India in the thirteenth century. They even had a Bishop there whose see covered the very province where the Fountain was supposed to be. But I hesitate to believe that the latter means of communication is the true one, for this reason. The good missionaries held that the Terrestrial Paradise was in India and indeed spent much labor in trying to find it there.⁴ But though they tell of all sorts of marvels, they have nothing to say of a Fountain of Youth. The most notable example of this is the *Mirabilia* of Friar Jordanus, in which, like an ancient Greek, he has stored up all the wonders known to him. Thus he tells of magic water and a healing tree, but not a word does he say of rejuvenation.⁵ So too Friar Marignolli (*ap. Yule*; c. 1328), who locates Paradise near Ceylon, knows nothing of this myth; nor does Friar Odoric (*above*).

Moreover, the European story antedates the accounts of the missionaries.⁶ Whether the idea of the Hindu fountain was first

¹ Oppert, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 55, believes that the letter of Prester John was taken bodily from the Arabian Nights. But exactly the tale of the Fountain of Youth is not found in the story of Sindbad's voyage to Ceylon, to which Oppert particularly refers. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, the myth is unknown to the rest of the Nights and to other Persian sources of 'wonders of the East' (see below).

² Hanauer, *Tales told in Palestine*, p. 83, and note 28, apropos of "El-Khudr" as a local saint, who (the author says) is represented as having discovered "the fountain of eternal youth" (read, 'water of life').

³ Fiske, *Discovery of America*, ii. p. 485.

⁴ Thus in 1291 a missionary of North India quoted by Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. 218, says that he has inquired and sought much for the Terrestrial Paradise, but has not found it.

⁵ The water turns base metal into gold. The leaves of the tree heal every wound. The tree stands in the water. Jordanus locates the rivers of Paradise in India tertia, i. e. Africa south of Abyssinia. He wrote about 1321. Cf. Yule's edition, pp. 29 and 43.

⁶ That is, of the Catholic missionaries. How long, on the other hand, Nestorian missionaries had been active in India, may be judged not only from the report of St. Thomas' labors and church in India, but

brought by the Crusaders remains problematical. It was the letter of Prester John which first, apparently, applied the conception of a rejuvenating fountain in India to man. This letter by thus applying the idea of the Fountain gathered, as it were, into one all the separate strands of thought already familiar from (a) the belief in "India" being the place where was situated Paradise and its river Phison (Indus or Ganges); (b) the belief that to obtain immortality one must drink or bathe in the river of Paradise; (c) the concurrent belief in bathing as a cure of disease. The letter itself presents a combination of views. The Fountain comes from Paradise; it is quaffed; it restores youth; but it does not ostensibly give immortality; certainly not in Mandeville, though it is probable that in the Nestorian letter it was introduced with implicit reference to the identification of Prester John with John the Apostle (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*), concerning whose supposed immortality legends were not lacking.¹

Here, however, I must allude to one other possibility. This is that mediæval medical writers, who were acquainted (through the Arabs) with Hindu medicine, may have suggested the notion of a medical cure-all, such as the Fountain practically was. We know indeed that the Hindu authorities (the chief are Caraka and Suśruta of the first and fourth centuries, A.D., respectively) are "repeatedly mentioned in the Latin translations of the Arab writers"; but the works of the Hindu writers do not bear out the suggestion that they recommend any such easy means of practice. Caraka says distinctly (iv. 60), "If we could get any one thing (remedy) possessed of such virtues as to be efficacious for all cases, who would wish to remember or teach any other?" Suśruta says nothing of the possibility of rejuvenation by means of a bath, though he knows many drugs efficacious in prolonging life for hundreds of years. But these are all elixirs to be taken "before sunrise," etc., or constantly,

also from the precise and reliable statements of Kosmas Indikopleustes in the sixth century. He says, iii. p. 169: "Even in Taprobane (Ceylon) there is a church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers . . . In Male, the country where pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Kalliāna [near Bombay] there is, moreover, a bishop who is appointed from Persia." The Muhammadans were well established in Ceylon by 700 (Devic, *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. xviii).

¹ Compare Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 230.

² Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 427.

as a regular dose.¹ In *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (Yule, ii. p. 351) we read that the 'Chughi' (Yogins) of India live to the age of 150 to 200 years by means of a mixture of sulphur and quicksilver taken from childhood; but Marco, too, says nothing of rejuvenation. Such drugs were neither magical, like Medea's, nor mythical, like the Fountain. They were in daily use as a therapeutic remedy, comparable with those soberly administered by our mediæval alchemists.

I am therefore inclined to regard India as the home of the European fable, but to consider the fable as brought thence not by the Arabs but by the early Nestorians through whom it might have reached Syria. The earliest Arabian travellers (four hundred years before Marco Polo) have nothing to say of the fountain, though they have some important remarks revealing familiarity with Hindu legends. In Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde* (previous to the eleventh century) there is a very good summary of certain Hindu myths and stories, told with considerable detail; and in the famous accounts of the two Arabian travellers in the ninth century it is said (speaking of a remarkable occurrence in India), "In our time these facts are very generally known; for this part of the Indies is in the neighborhood of the country of the Arabs and we hear from them every day" (Reinaud, "nous avons continuellement des nouvelles de cette contrée). Further, at the end of the second account, the words

¹ Compare the chapter on therapeutics, *Cikitsasthāna*, xxviii (p. 160), *anudite sūrye uṣṇodakam anupibet*, "drink hot water before sunrise"; and ib. "a physician should give a leper, after sundown, one drachm (½ pala) of long pepper, *kṛṣṇā*, with cow-urine," etc., which will make him "live to the age of one hundred." On p. 161 (Calcutta text) another elixir gives a life of 500 years. The usual phrase is *varṣasatam āyuso* 'bhivṛddhir bhavati,' or, with the addition of conserved virility, *balavān strīṣu cā 'kṣayo varṣasatāyur bhavati*, "he becomes potent with women and in undecayed strength lives one hundred years," xxvii (p. 157 and 159). The prescriptions for living five hundred (or more) years follow on p. 161, till we read the culmination (p. 164), "these herbs destroy evil, give bliss, and make man like the immortals." Thus *Suśruta*, like the alchemists of Europe, knew how to drug a man into long life, but he says naught of any pool that can accomplish this. It is interesting to notice that Caraka's whole system was revealed by god Indra to Bharadvāja, i. 1-25, who, as was said above, p. 2, in still older tradition had his life renewed by Indra.

"I have abstained from reproducing any of the mendacious stories which the sailors make up and in which the sailors themselves have no belief," furnish proof that about 851-867 stories of the wonders to be found in India were passed freely westward at the hands of Arabs, who had a colony in Ceylon even two centuries before that. A means of communication direct from India to Europe was therefore at hand by c. 675 independently of the Nestorians, who at the same time and even earlier had missions all over India;¹ but it does not seem to have been utilized for this myth. The Fountain is not mentioned even in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, a general collection (c. 960 A. D.) of all the marvels of India then known.

The reason, I think, why 'Palumbe' was represented as the site of the Fountain is that Kulam had been for centuries the entrepôt of trade, as Yule has shown,² and was the best-known place in India, so that it appealed most to the European geographical sense, such as it was, of the time, and the Fountain was therefore placed there by the Nestorian writers. Those actually on the ground knew, it would seem, nothing of it,³ perhaps because it was not there but far in the North, whereof a trace remains in the other miraculous fountain in Brichbrich (Mandeville, Pentexoire? "vielleicht Punjab," Oppert, p. 48), also described in the same letter. A union of myths may have taken place by way of Christian hagiolatry.

¹ On the possibility of Persian intermediaries, cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 183, note, and 545 (Bahram Gur of Persia visited India and wrote of its wonders). The Persian epic writers, however, have not the legend of rejuvenation, but that of the water of life. Nizāmi even has the legend of the dried fish revived (lacking in Firdausi, cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*). Balkh had a 'healing spring,' but there does not appear to be any Iranian legend of a Fount of Youth. Professor Jackson indeed, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 639, speaks of the "uralte Idee vom Baume des Lebens und der Quelle der Jugend;" but this juxtaposition is conventional and in this case is based on Darmesteter. See below, p. 55, note 2, for Darmesteter's text. The springs here are of Paradise and bestow immortality.

² See the Preface to Jordanus (on Kulam) and the (Oderic) Italian text, *Cathay*, App. ii. p. xlvii: Poi venni a Colonbio, ch' è la migliore terra d' India per mercatanti.

³ The same is true even of Ser Marco Polo, who has a description of all this part of India and is not shy of repeating marvels. Evidently he knew nothing of the Fountain being in Southern India at the end of the thirteenth century.

Myths of healing waters are always renewed. Thus John of Hese speaks of the fountain in the garden in which the Virgin died and adds: *De cuius fontis aqua dicitur quod caeci accipientes de ea recipiunt visum, infirmi sanantur, et leprosi mundantur.*¹ So too the font of Paradise, definitely located in or near Ceylon by Marignolli and others, might have been reëndued with all the attributes of the native myth of a healing and rejuvenating fountain. It is then quite possible that "Prester John" was right in locating the Fountain of Youth in that India, not far from the Indus, as people thought in those days, where also, "next to India," Euhemerus had set the salutary spring of his Utopia even in the fourth century, B.C.

But it may be asked, Did not the European myth derive wholly from the Semites? Schmidt, in the work already referred to, ignoring the question of origin, is content to say "Auch im Morgenlande findet sich diese Dichtung wieder," and gives as an illustration the case of "Khedher" (El Khidr, Hīdr), who found, what Alexander (according to the Semites) vainly sought, the water of life,² or immortality. The example is not ill chosen. In the light of our present knowledge, the Semitic conception may be carried further back, but it is, if I am not mistaken, always expressed in this or a closely analogous form. The Semitic version, namely, whether concerned with the late myths of Hīdr,³ or Alexander, or the dried fish revi-

¹ This 'Prester John' knows of another fountain four days' journey from Sinai, where there are no less than twelve fountains et quibus si quis biberet nunquam ut dicitur oculi eius excæarentur (*Itinerarium Iohannis de Hese*). Though this itinerary describes the palace of Prester John and has much the same material as the letter of the latter, there is no hint of the Fountain of Youth. The traveller sees Paradise and even visits Purgatory! It may be that Odoric and the other friars knew but did not care to write about all the heathen myths. The former says (22): *Multa sunt quæ scribere et andire stupor esset, quapropter ea scribere ad præsens non multum curo*, and (19) *multa alia magna et mirabilia fiunt ab istis, quæ minime sunt scribenda*, etc.

² "Then the king rejoiced that he had heard of the fountain, And he went back to bathe in it as he had asked. He went to the mountain in the darkness but he did not stand on it, And it was not granted to him by the Lord that he should live" [forever]. Budge, *Alexander the Great*, p. 174 (Jacob of Serûg).

³ El-Khidr or Hīdr is at present, by the way, a god of India! He is the divinity of the Bengal boatmen. Though introduced by the Muhammadans, he is now accepted as a Hindu under the name of Rāja Kidār. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, i. p. 47.

talized, or the old man seeking immortality, as related in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes,¹ has to do, as far as man is concerned, not with a Fountain of Youth, but with the water of life and immortality. This is more than Biblical and may be called pan-Semitic. From the Old Testament's "For with thee is the fountain of life," Ps. xxxvi. 9, to the New Testament's "pure river of water of life" and "tree of life" with its "leaves for the healing of the nations," Rev. xxii. 1, the idea is that of the living water which gives everlasting life. This water also cures disease, but it is not water which renews youth. In the oldest Semitic form, it is a magical plant which does this. Thus in the Babylonian epic, Gilgamesh (seeking for the water of immortality?) is treated with magical plants, to remove disease. And when it is a question of renewing youth, we find that the power to give rejuvenation resides not in the well but, as in Aelian's tale, which may be a reflex of the old story, in the plant which grows beside the well. It is the plant which has the name of "restoration of old age to youth" (littleness), and Gilgamesh says, Table xi, line 299, "Let me eat and return to my youth" (literally, "to my littleness").² In the late mythological form which the myth took among the Semites, the water of life gushed forth out of Paradise (where alone it was originally imagined to be), so that man could find it even before entering Paradise. But there appears to be a consistent difference between the Hindu and Semitic conceptions, although the two may be locally united and confused, as we find them in the European form. This difference lies in the fact that the Hindu descends into a pool which at once gives him a renewed youth, but not immortality, whereas the Semite drinks (or bathes in) a water which may or may not restore youth, but

¹ Compare Budge, *op. cit.*, p. cvi (Ethiopic), of the dead fish becoming reanimated, and (above) p. 174 (Syriac), of Jacob of Serûg. The former example is alluded to in the Koran, 18th Sûra (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*). The Hebrew romance (above, note 3, p. 20) has (not the fish but) birds revived by the water.

² I owe this translation to a note from Professor Jastrow, who suggests that the restoration to youth here "symbolizes the rejuvenation of nature in the spring." Compare Jastrow, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religions*, pp. 510, 516; and Zimmern, *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 165 ff., who shows that the water of life was originally only in heaven. The Adapa tale has waters of life and death.

makes him immortal. Youth may theoretically be gained by the Semite through a fruit but never is actually so gained. Yet the real quest of the Semite is for life immortal; of the Hindu, for renewed youth. The complementary thought no doubt lies near in each case, the water of life implying a life of vigor, rejuvenation the possibility of repeatedly becoming young. Yet we see from the Hindu tales that such rejuvenation was not a perpetuation of youth; the one who is rejuvenated grows old again and dies.¹ Nor does the Semite lay stress on "youth and beauty," as does the Hindu. The Hindu, in a word, seeks to secure the whole charm of life; the Semite seeks to avoid death. The "immortality" desired on earth by the Vedic poets is always "not dying" before old age and is simply equivalent to long life without decrepitude prior to expected death. The immortality of the Semite is that of Hīdr or Elias, who is still alive, or was, in Albīrūnī's day, in 1000 A.D.²

¹ Only the wild man of the woods, the Bhil, is represented as not only rejuvenated but practically immortal, having already lived two thousand seven hundred years, apparently without expectation of future death. Kathās. 128. 70. El-Khidr gets both youth and immortality.

² Albīrūnī says that "Elias is still alive," *Chronology*, p. 297 (Sachau), and calls him "ever-living." On the other hand, in India, the word "everlasting" is not employed in benedictions for men, but God is "everlasting" as well as "renewed," *sanātana*, *punarṇava*, AV. x. 8. 23 (the latter also of a convalescent, RV. x. 161. 5). So *amartya*, immortalis, is not applied to man even in magic wishes. The Vedic poets wish for 'old age' merely as a mark of long life (*jaradaṣṭi=jyok sūryaṁ dṛṣe*). The so-called "flower of immortality," the *kuṣṭha*, is only an antidote against disease, AV. v. 4. 4, *Caraka* (passim), and the "immortality" given by the "healing waters" is but equivalent to continued health due to the "medicine in waters." This is the real interpretation of the passage, cited by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.* below), AV. v. 30. 8: "You shall not die (you shall be 'immortal'), you shall reach old age," etc. Waters are "remedial of everything." RV. x. 137. 6; but even the waters which are the "food of the gods" are invoked, along with salutary earthly waters, without hint of rejuvenation, to benefit the worshipper, as in AV. i. 33. 3-4. Here and there it may seem to be otherwise, but the context shows that neither immortality nor rejuvenation is thought of. Thus in AV. viii. 2. 1, adopting the commentator's better reading, we find: "Take to thyself the *stream of immortality*; I bring again thy life (breath), thy life (time)," where, as in *punaryuvan*, rejuvenated, *punarbālya*, senile childishness, the word *punar* suggests the interpretation of restoration of youth (cf. RV. x.

Before taking up the native Hindu myth there remains, however, the query whether a Fountain of Youth was utterly unknown in Europe prior to the twelfth century. To answer this we must turn from the Fountain made for man and examine the source of the tradition as to the eagle's fountain found in the Bestiaire of Philipp de Thaun. The passage cited above, p. 10, closes, it will be remembered, with the words:

Et tel est sa nature,
Si cum dit escripture,
Quant treis feiz est plungiez,
Dunc est rejuveigniez.

Psalm ciii. 5 is evidently referred to here, "Thy youth is renewed like the eagle's", and the explanation of the fountain in connection with the eagle reverts to the old theological view that the renewal of youth is in this case not the growth of new feathers but an actual rejuvenation. The eagle thus comes into concurrence with the phoenix, that thousand-year-old *Gangeti-*

161. 5 for verb). But the rest of the hymn shows clearly that only restoration to health and preservation from death till old age are intended, and waters are invoked, just as are herbs, metals, a girdle, etc., merely to secure a "long life of an hundred autumns," or more, as in AV. i. 35. 1; ii. 4. 1; iii. 5. 4; iv. 10. 7, etc., or as specific oblations secure health and "immortality," which is long life, RV. x. 161. 2; AV. iv. 35. 6. It is of course only the point of view which makes the difference between the wish to reach and the wish to avoid 'old age.' In Sanskrit the usual word for 'old age' means 'decrepitude,' but in both cases the wish is for a long life of health, 'wholesomeness.' Compare AV. i. 30. 3, "may the gods in the waters give him old-age, life; may he avoid other kinds of death," and the use, in the legend below, of *sarva*, 'hale' (whole), with the "wholesomeness" of *Haurvatāt*, the Iranian archangel of water and health, derived from the cognate word. The Indo-Iranian desired health and long life; but he did not think to escape death in the end; whereas the Semite sought a literal earthly immortality. Especially the Vedic Hindu anticipated a very joyful life after death and there, in the heavenly world of Yama, he hoped also to be 'not-dying,' after he had escaped dying (i. e. been 'not-dying,' which we often translate erroneously as 'immortal') as long as he could in this world. But the Semite had no such joyful anticipation; he feared the dusty, gloomy, breathless life hereafter, and hoped by some means to remain alive on earth. On a possible survival of the Semitic 'food and water of life' in Christian symbolism, compare Eichhorn, *Das Abendmahl im N. T.*, and Zimmern, *loc. cit.*

cus ales, as Ausonius calls it (more generally, ὁ Ἰνδικὸς ὄρνις), to which Apollonius of Tyana also gives India as birthplace, but a life of five hundred years.¹ But whether the phoenix lived a thousand years (Martial says *decem saecula vixit*) or five hundred, as Herodotus reports, ii. 73, it is important to observe that just as Herodotus, who derives it from 'Arabia,' says that the phoenix is in form and shape "very like an eagle" (αἰετῶ ὁμοίωτατος), as the Egyptian *bennu* is represented by *Cygnus* and *Aquila*, and as phoenix and eagle are alternates in the Persian tale of the king's elevation to heaven on wings (of an eagle or of a *brid Fenix*), so there is an ancient church tradition that the eagle renews its youth for five hundred years (though some say for one hundred) and does so by plunging itself into a fountain situated in India. It is thus almost completely identified with the Rabbinical phoenix: phoenix morte multata non fuit, quia non gustaverit de arbore scientiae; sed post mille annos completos *renovatur et rediit ad juventutem suam*—instead of dying and being reborn. The eagle (called αἰετὸς διὰ τὴν πολυετίαν αὐτοῦ) lives one hundred years, according to Epiphanius, and it is only to bring into harmony with this statement that of the anonymous commentator on the passage in the Psalms above that the contradictory statement of the latter, κατὰ φ' ἐτη ἀνακαινίζεται, has been altered to ρ' ἐτη (500 changed to 100 years), as I learn from the Hierozoicon, *Pars Post.*, lib. 2, c. 1 (p. 166). Bochart's learned dissertation on the eagle contains much valuable matter. Discussing Ps. ciii. 5, in connection with Isaiah xl. 31, which he renders, *ascendent (succrescent) pennae sicut aquilarum (aquilis)*, and Dan. iv. 33 ("his hairs were grown

¹ Ap. Philostratus. Socotra, the Hindu "isle of the blest," *dvīpa sukhādhāra* (Dioscorida, perhaps 'Panchaia') is often given as the birthplace of the phoenix, with which *Gangeticus* scarcely agrees. On the connection between the phoenix and coral (Sangral), see Oppert. *op. cit.* The phoenix is perhaps alluded to in Job, xxix. 18 "I shall die in my nest and I shall multiply my days as the phoenix" [or, 'as the sands']. Pliny. x. 2. 2, follows Herodotus, and refers the phoenix to Arabia: but as to the rest, he gives it a life of *DXL* (*vivere annis*) and says that it is carried "prope Panchaiam in solis urbem." Heliopolis is intended unless Panchaia is really India, when Soli (=Tanjore) might be meant? The Persian phoenix also lives 1,000 years. Its ashes become a new bird on each occasion, but it will perish once for all at the day of judgment. *Or. Coll.*, ii. 64. In Wünsche's *Bibl. Rabbinica* (Salomo und die Ameisen), there is an *eagle* 1300 years old! Cf. Lauchert, *Physiol.*, p. 9 f.

like eagles''”), he maintains that the ‘renewal of youth’ is merely the re-growth of feathers,¹ and he opposes therefore the opinion of *multi veteres*, who in their ignorance of the true explanation held that the eagle’s youth was renewed by means of a decennial immersion in the sea or by means of a threefold immersion in a pool. His authorities are first, Saadias (b. 892), who says: “the eagle burning with heat on approaching the sun, falls headlong into the sea and is renewed; its plumage comes again and it returns to the days of youth; this happens every decade to the end of the century, when for the last time it falls into the sea and dies;” second, the same statement (with the exception of ‘drowned’ for ‘dies’) in Porta Coeli, fol. 22, col. 2; third, Damiri (b. 1341), who, treating of the *alokab*, the melanaetos, of Arabia Felix, gives the following story of the eagle: “When it becomes slow in flight and grows blind, its young ones carry it and bear it from place to place, and seek at the top of a mountain in India a fountain, in which it bathes. They there expose it to the sun’s rays. Thereupon its feathers fall out and new ones supervene, and the darkness of its eyes is dissipated. And whenever its old age returns, it bathes again in the same fountain.”

Lest it be thought, however, that this fountain also is no older than the Prester John letter, the testimony (*apud* Bochart *loc. cit.*) of Eustathios (in Hexaëmeron, p. 27) must be added: Φασὶ γηράσαντα τὸν ἀετὸν εἰς πηγὴν ἀφικνεῖσθαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καταβάντα τρίτον βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνανεοῦσθαι. Διὸ καὶ τὸν Ψαλμὸν φάσκειν φησὶν Ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετοῦ νεότης σου. We thus have a spring of rejuvenation (three-fold immersion) for the eagle as early as the fourth century. To the same period reverts the etymological definition of Epiphānios, cited above, who adds (but without the *τρίτον*), λούεται ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχρὰν λιμνὴν (and is then rejuvenated). In the fourth-fifth century, St. Jerome (or at least the auctor epistolae ad Praesidium quae Hieronymo tribuitur) says of the eagle (when it grows old and its wings and eyes grow heavy): Quaeritque fontem et erigit pennas, et colligit in se calorem, et sic oculi ejus sanantur et in

¹ He compares, very pertinently, the Greek expression, ‘a serpent shedding its (skin) age’, γῆρας, and the Latin equivalent, senectutem exuere, of a snake. The Sanskrit jarāyu (=γῆρας) is used in the same way, AV. i. 27. 1, of snakes; but also of any used-up cover or husk.

fontem se ter mergit et ita ad juventatem redit. The Physiologos also treats of this eagle-fount of rejuvenating power, which may have been, as is specified by the later Arab scholar Damiri, a fountain of India. But such a fountain is not known as a means of rejuvenating man; nor do I find, even as regards the eagle, any cognizance of such a fountain on the part of the classical writers. The story is known to Donatus, who also lived in the fourth century, and he attempts to foist it upon Terence as an explanation of 'Aquilae senectus' in *Heaut.* iii. 2. 10. But it is not necessary to suppose that 'eagle's age' implies the fountain, for Augustine's comments on *Ps.* ciii. 5 show that the renewed youth of the eagle may have an entirely different explanation,¹ and though the excessive drinking of an old man might suggest the idea that non edendo sed bibendo vivunt Jovis aquilae, yet an old eagle's præternatural strength would seem to suffice for the sense of Terence's words. Professor E. P. Morris, I am happy to add, confirms me in this interpretation of the passage. No other classical writer, I think, alludes to the myth.

Pliny, for example, treats of the same melanaetos of which Damiri writes, yet he says only, x. 3. 3, "conversatur autem in montibus"; as of the morphnus, "huic vita circa lacus"; but naught nearer the point. For when he says of eagles generally, "oppetunt non senio nec aegritudine sed fame," he alludes merely to the curvature of the beak. The tradition, I imagine, was derived from the East (whence probably Jerome's statement). It can scarcely be native to the classical world, or Aelian, if not Aristotle, would have alluded to it. The latter however, says of melanaetos only that it is brave (etc.) and lives in the mountains, *De Animal.* ix. 22. 2. Of eagles in general he tells the story of the curved beak and the eagle's consequent death of hunger, a misfortune which it suffered because (the story is) when it was a man it was inhospitable (a good Greek parallel to the Hindu rule of metempsychosis); also "it is a long-lived bird," *ib.* 4 and 7. But if, as may easily have chanced, Aristotle knew the fable without alluding to it,

¹ Augustine says that the eagle's youth is restored, "but not into immortality." For it breaks its over-grown beak against a rock, and so procures food again, "and after its old age it will be like a young eagle." I owe this reference to Professor F. C. Porter. Origen, third century, knows of the renewed youth, but not of the fountain.

it is not easy to suppose that Aelian did the same. He has much to say of the eagle and many stories to tell of it (e. g. of the eagle that committed suttee when its beloved owner died; of the eagle that saved the life of "Gilgames, king of the Babylonians," *περὶ ζώων ἰδιότητος*, xii. 21), and it is not probable he would have said that it is killed by the symphyton, vi. 46, and is "superior to thirst and seeks no outer remedy against toil, despising water . . . it needs no spring," *οὔτε πηγῆς δέεται*, ii. 26, if he had been conversant with the application of the *πηγή* as used by later writers in reference to the eagle. Aulus Gellius, though he has a whole chapter devoted to marvels, ix. 4, has not a word to say of rejuvenation either of man or of eagle. As Aelian and Gellius both belong to the second century, it would seem that Jerome's fountain was unknown to scholars of this date. It is probably not without significance that Jerome says *quaerit fontem* and Eustathios *εἰς πηγὴν* (with no indefinite article added). [See the final note on page 67.]

If we gather up all the threads of the rejuvenation-fable, we shall find that the matter stands as follows. There are various means of rejuvenation, but the Fountain of Youth, as applied both to man and to the animal world (the eagle), appears to derive from India,¹ being brought into Europe on the one hand

¹ India and the East are both vague terms and it may be that the fountains which healed the blind in the garden sacred to the Virgin (in Prester John of Hese, above, p. 35; ib. note 1) may be the starting-point of the eagle's fountain. The renewed sight of the eagle is especially prominent in the description. But it is possible that the eagle-legend derives in part from the Hindu (epic) Sampāti myth. There is, indeed, no fountain here, but this may have been done away with in honor of the saint. Otherwise the myth is similar. Sampāti is a kind of roc, a monstrous bird, which flies to the sun and burns its wings, whereupon it falls upon the Vindhya mountain and in talking to the holy saint Nisākara (who, by the way, was 8000 years old) receives new wings. R. iv. 60-63. A curious combination of belief in the magical power of the roc itself and suggested rejuvenation is found in the *'Ajā-ib al-Hind*. Among the marvellous stories is one of a crew of sailors shipwrecked on the way to China. The incident being "well-known to sailors" is "denied by none." Wrecked and lost on a lonely isle these sailors were one day attacked by a bird "huge as a bull," which, however, they killed and devoured. Presently their skin became like that of an infant and those who were old and had white hair shed this, to get in a few days a new growth. This new hair was "black and brilliant, and it never again became white" (Devic, li).

in the middle ages, and on the other in the first centuries after Christ. These two phases of belief, however, approximate to other forms already found in Europe; in the middle ages, to the 'water of life,'¹ and in the classical world to the *ἀθάνατος πηγή* or spring conferring endless life on those who have passed the bourne whence there is no return, the Anostos land which coincides with the ends of the earth, imagined as a home of the blessed. This in turn coincides with the old belief in the earthly paradise of the golden age, where as Hesiod says (*Works*, 113):

οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
γῆρας ἐπῆν,

exactly as the later poet describes the agelessness of the Hyperboreans. But it is clear that these phases are of different character. The Fountain of Youth is exaggerated earthly medicinal water; the "immortal spring" of the Greek land of blessedness is unearthly and is applied to spirits only. Though born of the same thought it is a separate development and does not imply a precedent idea of a fount of rejuvenation. To this category belongs the mixture of means of rejuvenation found in Theopompus' effort to out-do the Hyperboreans in the Meropes' two rivers of pleasure and pain, beside which stand trees, and the fruit of these trees on being eaten kill the eater: the one in tears and sorrow, but the other in such joy that the man who eats thereof forgets all former joys and love and becomes younger and younger. "First casting off old age (τὸ γῆρας ἀπορρίψας) he reverts to the acme of life; then to boyhood; then he becomes a child, then a baby, and thereupon he is quite used up" (and dies). Such a parody as this of the fourth century B. C. may evidently be based on what it most closely parodies, the ageless life and happy death of the inhabitants of all Utopias and mortal dwellers in paradise, whose endless felicity is degraded, as Schroeder has said of the Hyperboreans,² to "long life with a

¹ Gerster, *loc. cit.*, cites authority for the belief that the legend of the water of life was known in western Europe in the first centuries of our era. In Greece, as Rohde in *Psyche* has shown (*loc. cit.*, above, p. 5), the idea was introduced still earlier. The legends of the two waters may have been merged before they became known in the West.

² Otto Schroeder, *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. 81. The author claims, p. 83, that "Hyperborean" is "above the mountains," in heaven (bor=gir, mountain).

corresponding diet." If, as Rohde seems to think,¹ Theopompos (or Aelian perhaps, for we cannot be sure how much belongs to the former) had here referred to a Fountain of Youth, he would certainly have had the Meropes drink the water of the river. The fruit that rejuvenates belongs rather to the wider cycle of magic fruits which reaches from the divyam phalam (heavenly fruit) of India to the Avlon apples and the fruit of rejuvenation found in the Pacific isles. In any case, it is interesting to see how even in this tale of Aelian the foreign element is brought forward. It is a tale of Phrygia, and Phrygia is only a specialization of the outlandish. The rivers are "on the extreme" end of things, in the gulf at the world's end; in short in the extreme Orient, perhaps again India, or what passed for India. The native fountains of Greece destroyed life or prolonged life, but they did not rejuvenate.²

The native Hindu tradition of the Brahmanic age (c. 700-800 B.C.) reveals the error in Le Grand's assumption that the Orient knew only a fountain of life, but failed to invent a Fountain of Youth. On the other hand, India not only has the Fountain of Youth in its purest form, but it knows also the healing and revivifying water, fruit, salve, etc. As for this latter water, it restores health, in particular it cures leprosy. The oldest case on record is that of the sinful king Vena, who, like Naaman in

¹ Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 207. On the identity of these rivers with the "fountains called Weeping and Laughing" with which Rohde identifies them there is more doubt than he seems to think. The latter is not attributed to Theopompos (Pliny, N. H., xxxi. 2. 19), and if one reads over the astonishing list of fountains and rivers of miraculous nature (in the opening paragraphs of this book of Pliny), one may well question whether there is any occasion to identify the founts of Theophrastos with the rivers of Theopompos (to the latter's story are perhaps referable the "waters that kill" expressly ascribed to him, Pliny, *ib.* 26; cf. Parodox, Vat. Rohdii, Fr. xxxix, "Theopompos speaks of a spring in Thrace in which those who bathe loose their life").

² Compare especially the list of miraculous fountains referred to by Isigonos, *Frg. Hist. Graec.*, iv. p. 436, who like Ktesias (see the note, below, p. 51) describes every imaginable kind of remarkable fountain, but has no note on any fountain of rejuvenation. Though fragments of Isigonos are all we possess and negative evidence is not usually convincing, yet the silence of Isigonos and of Pliny, not to speak of Ktesias, does constitute a strong argument against the supposition that any *πηγή ἀθανάτου* was understood as a fount of rejuvenation.

the Jordan, was cured of leprosy by bathing in the Sarasvatī river, where also at first is located the Fountain of Youth.¹

The story of Cyavana, who enjoyed the privilege of becoming young again on bathing in the Fountain of Youth, is indeed older than the Brahmanic age. But in the Rig Veda, while it may reasonably be inferred that the later form of the story is already known (see below), there is only the statement that Cyavāna (the older form of the name) was rejuvenated by the twin physician-gods, the Aśvins. Although other allusions to this hero are found in the Rig Veda,² one stanza really expresses all that is told of him, RV. i. 116. 10: "O ye two healers (the Aśvins), from Cyavāna when he had grown old ye loosed like a mantle his skin; wonder-workers that ye are, ye prolonged his life when he had been deserted [exposed to die], and ye made him the husband of maidens." The hero of the legend was the priest of king Śāryāta, and is called "the son of Bhṛgu" in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rig Veda, v. 21. In the Śatapatha of the Yajur Veda he is called "either the son of Bhṛgu or the son of Aṅgiras," which indicates synonymity. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma (chant) Veda calls him "the son of Dadhyanc." The last, though brief, is more explicit than the Rig Veda in describing the circumstances of rejuvenation: Cyavano vāi Dādhīco 'śvinoḥ priya āsīt, so 'jīryat; tam etena sāmṇā 'psu vyāiṅkayatām,³ tam punaryuvānam akurutām, that is: "Cyavana, the son of Dadhyanc, was dear to the Aśvins, he grew old; with this [just mentioned] chant [called the Vīṅka chant] they threw him into the water, they rejuvenated him" (Tāṇḍya xiv. 6. 10). This change of patronymic may be connected with the part of Dadhyanc in the account of the Jāimīniya, cited below.

The gist of the story in the Śatapatha⁴ is that the aged saint was insulted by the sons of Śāryāta, Manu's son. Enraged at

¹ Oddly enough, the signification of the names Vena and Naaman is nearly the same. For the latter, see II Kings, v. 14. For Hindu modern cures and restoration to beauty, see the *Indian Fairy Tales, Folktales of Bengal, Wide Awake Stories, and Legends of the Panjāb*.

² See the passages referred to in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v. p. 243.

³ This form is used for *iṅkh*, merely for the sake of the name of the hymn *vīṅka*.

⁴ The text, iv. 1. 5, and translation have been published so often that it will not be necessary to give them in full. Compare for the text,

this he created discord among them. To appease the priest, Śaryāta gave him his own daughter, Sukanyā. The seer accepted her, allayed the strife, and Śaryāta went away, lest the irascible saint should get angry again. The Aśvins were then on earth and tried to seduce Sukanyā, saying, "What a shrivelled old man thou liest with; come with us." She replied, "I will not desert, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me" (*yasmāi mām pitā adād na taṁ jivantam hāsyāmi*). The saint knew what had happened and bade her, if they said this again, to reply "Ye are not complete nor perfect, and yet ye blame my husband," and if they asked for what reason, she was to say, "Rejuvenate my husband, and I will tell you." All happened as foreseen by the sage, and when she had made this reply the Aśvins said, "Put him into the pool¹ and he will come out with whatever age he shall desire." So she put him into the pool and he came forth with the age that he desired. The saint then explained that the Aśvins were incomplete because they had been excluded from the gods' sacrifice. The Aśvins complained to the gods and were told that they had been excluded because, as physicians, they associated too promiscuously with men. They retorted that the gods sacrificed with a headless (*viśrṇā*) sacrifice, and if they (the Aśvins) were invited to join, they would explain why the sacrifice was headless (and therefore useless). So they were invited, received the "draught of the Aśvins," and became the two under priests of sacrifice, for that they had set on again the head of the sacrifice.²

In the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, there is a fuller description of the rejuvenation of Cyavana. Here for

Weber's edition of the Śat. Br.; Böhtlingk's *Chrestomathie*, p. 28; Muir, *op. cit.*, v. p. 250; and for translations, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, i. 13; Muir, *ib.*, 251; Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxvi. p. 272. The Śat. Br. and Jāim. Br. call the king and the family Śaryāta and Śāryāta, respectively.

¹ Professor Eggeling reports that the Kāṇva recension has 'water' only. The Mādhyandina text has 'pool': *etaṁ hradam abhyavahara*, not "take to" but "put down into," as in the account of the flood, where Manu "put the fish into the sea," *taṁ evaṁ bhṛtvā samudram abhyavajahāra*, SB. i. 8. 1. 5. The context assures the meaning in each case.

² The latter part of the story appears again in TS. vi. 4. 9. 1, cited by Muir, *op. cit.* p. 253.

the first (and only) time the fountain has a name, *śāśava*, the 'place of youth.' It is, moreover, in a fixed, if uncertain, locality, namely, a part of the river *Sarasvatī*, either the Indus or the smaller holy river known by the same name, which in Vedic lore is especially associated with the *Āsvins* as helping Indra to renew his lost vigor. In contrast with the simplicity of the *Śatapatha* version of the *Yajur Veda*, but with an approach to the mystic power of the chant (the chief object of concern in the *Sāma Veda*) found in the *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa* cited above, *Cyavana* is first represented as about to be rejuvenated by the power of the chant, called (after him) *Cyāvana*. The same motive appears at the end of the story, while the old version, which makes the rejuvenation depend wholly upon the pool, forms the main of the tale. Verbal agreement and disagreement will be noticed in the two texts of the *Yajur* and *Sāma Vedas*. Perhaps the most striking instance is that in the former the result of dissension is described as a fratricidal and patricidal strife, while in the latter the lack of harmony is portrayed in the words: 'mother knew not son, nor son mother.'

As this tale has already been translated once, it will suffice to summarize the paragraphs, though I shall translate in full at the beginning, where an emended text makes a new version desirable.

Cyavana, the son of *Bhṛgu*, knew the divine knowledge [or power] of (*Rudra-Śiva*) the Lord of the Waste.² He addressed

¹ This word means literally "appertaining to a child," *śīsu* (cf. *pār-ṭhava* from *prthu*). It has here no connection with the melody or chant called *śāśava*, which is derived from the seer *Śīsu*, of precocious memory, TMB. xiii. 3. 23. Can it be connected with the Tamil *śīsupābam*, a charm for recreating a dead body out of its own dust? As such, in the South, the *śīsupābam* is opposed to the *saṃjīvi* charm, which reanimates the body thus restored, but not yet animated. Compare Babington, as cited by Ralston, *op. cit.*, p. 233; and for the Hindu epic *saṃjīvinī*, note 4, above, p. 3. Perhaps, however, *śīsupābam* is Sk. *Śiṃśapā*, a tree, *Dalbergia sisu*, the fruit of which may be used as a talisman.

² Or (traditionally), 'lord of leavings' (of sacrifice). See the notes to the text. The word *brāhmaṇa* may be used like *brāhman* for secret, magical, knowledge (cf. a similar development in the case of the word *Upaniṣad*). In AV. viii. 2. 7 and 10, *Bhava* and *Śarva* (= *Rudra-Śiva*) are invoked to give "long life" and (it is added) "we make the *brāhman* his protection," where *brāhman* is a charm (25) to ensure long life for "a myriad of years." It is possible, however, that *brāhmaṇa* here means 'divine power,' as in AV. vii. 67. 1.

his sons with the words, "Surely I know the divine knowledge [or power] of the Lord of the Waste. In the waste-place then putting me down [thrice] take your departure." They replied "That we cannot do. We shall be vituperated. People will say, 'they have abandoned their father.'" "Not so," said he, "you will surely be the richer for it, and I at the same time shall have the hope of rejuvenation. Just leave me and go away." These were his instructions. Depositing him then by the Fount of Youth at the Sarasvatī [thrice] they took their departure. He uttered his wish: "Being deserted in this waste-place, I would be rejuvenated, find a maiden for a wife, and make sacrifice with a thousand (cattle)." These were his words. He had a vision of this chant (called the Cyavana, 'chant of Cyavana'), and lauded with it (120).

While he was lauding, Śaryāta, the son of Manu, settled near him, and the young cowherds smeared him with dirt and ash-whitened balls of dung.² He made discord among the Śaryātans, so that mother knew not son, nor son mother. Then spoke Śaryāta, the son of Manu, saying, "Have ye seen anything about here which produced this (state of affairs)?" They replied, "Nothing other than this: there is an old good-for-nothing man lying here. The young cowherds and shepherds have to-day smeared him with dirt and ash-whitened balls of dung; then this (state of affairs) has been produced" (121). [The following I abbreviate.] Śaryāta recognized Cyavana and begged him to excuse the fault. The latter demanded as expiation the gift of Śaryāta's daughter, Sukanyā, and refused any substitute. After mutual consultation, the Śaryātans surrendered her, but they told her to run away from him as soon as they should decamp, since he would be unable to follow them.³ She was about to do so, but the seer, though unable to pursue, was equal to the occasion. He called on the snake

¹ Doubtful; compare the note on the text.

² In the ŚBr. version 'pelted him with clods.'

³ In the ŚBr., the reason given for the retirement of Śaryāta is that he feared a repetition of the same offense. Here the seer orders the Ś. off and they play a trick to regain possession of Sukanyā, who as soon as they left was to run after them; since as they jeeringly said, "This good-for-nothing old man will be unable to follow you; so run after us as soon as we yoke up."

of the pool' to circumvent her. As she started, the snake intercepted her, and seeing the snake she stayed with her husband.

Just at this time, the Ásvins, the twin physician demi-gods, who never had been invited to join the Soma-drinking of the real gods, were wandering about earth, employed in their usual occupation of curing people. On seeing Sukanyā they desired her and said to her, "This old man is not whole, not fit to be a husband; be our wife." She refused, saying that she would be the wife of him to whom her father gave her. The seer perceived with his seer-power what had taken place, yet he questioned her. She reported truthfully the Ásvins' words, including the compliment to the seer. This was satisfactory to him, as he foresaw how he might make use of it. "Tomorrow," said he, "they will return and repeat what they have said today. Then do you say to them, 'Ye yourselves are not whole (asarvāu) because, although divine, ye are not partakers of the Soma-drink, whereas my husband drinks Soma and hence is whole.' And when," he added, "they ask 'Who can make us Soma-drinkers?' then do you reply, 'My husband, who drinks Soma.'"

All happened as foreseen, and then the Ásvins begged Cyavana to make them drinkers of Soma. Thereupon he struck a bargain with them, that they should rejuvenate him and he should make them drinkers of Soma. So they carried him to the 'Youth-place' of the Sarasvatī;² but he, perceiving that they were about to trick him, warned his wife, saying that the Ásvins would go into the pool with him and all three of them would come up out of the water exactly alike 'with the most beautiful form.' So he showed her a sign by which she should recognize him. They all came up alike, fair and beautiful, Cyavana now being rejuvenated and indistinguishable from the Ásvins, who are always described as young and most fair. But she, having received the secret sign, said, "I distinguish you two;

¹ Magic pools are generally guarded by snakes, as serpents or dragons guard treasure of all kinds. For the snake's guardianship of the 'waters of strength and weakness' in Russia, see Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 233. For modern Hindu examples, see Crooke, *Folk-lore of Northern India*, i. 49; ii. 136.

² He had previously been there (see the opening paragraphs).

this man here is my husband." The *Ásvins* then demanded their reward, "We have rejuvenated you; do you then make us drinkers of Soma." He said, "The gods are now sacrificing in the Field of the Kurus; but their sacrifice has no head (and is therefore of no use to them). This 'head of the sacrifice' is known to Dadhyanc. Ask him to tell you what it is, and then you will become drinkers of Soma." They went to Dadhyanc and proffered their request. He refused at first, saying that he was afraid of Indra, who had indeed revealed the 'head' to him, but Indra had told him not to reveal it to anyone else on fear of losing his head. "Then tell us with the head of a horse," they said, and he assented to this. They took off his head and substituted an equine head, with which he taught them the 'head of the sacrifice.' Indra thereupon cut off Dadhyanc's equine head; but the wise *Ásvins* then put on again his own head, and going to the Field of the Kurus bargained with the gods, offering to exchange their own knowledge of the 'head of the sacrifice' for the right to drink Soma. The gods assented and the *Ásvins* thus became priests and got the right to drink Soma. Cyavana, having become rejuvenated, went to *Śaryāta* and conducted a sacrifice for him on the eastern site. *Śaryāta* gave him a thousand cattle, wherewith Cyavana 'sacrificed for himself' (that is, as the cattle were his own property, he alone gained merit by the sacrifice). The tale ends: "Thus Cyavana, by lauding with this chant, became rejuvenated, found a maiden for a wife, and sacrificed with a thousand (cattle). Moreover, by means of this chant he used to draw up out of the *Sarasvatī's* Fountain of Youth whatever food he desired."

So ends the story of Cyavana in this section of the *Jāminiya Brāhmaṇa* of the Chant-Veda, and it is evident that, as in the *Tāṇḍya*, the chant, at the hands of the chant-priest, has stolen the glory originally belonging to the pool. With the closing sentence of the story may be compared *Rig Veda* i. 164. 49,

¹ Cf. the account of the fount in *Bṛichbrich*, above, p. 22, n. 1. This is a new feature of the Cyavana pool, not mentioned in other accounts. The story of Dadhyanc, as given in the *Brhaddevatā*, adds that the horse's head "fell into the midst of a lake on Mount *Śaryāṇāvat*" (*RV.* i. 84. 14), whence it emerges to bestow "various boons" on living beings, *BD.* iii. 23 f. Perhaps the later legend unites this with the pool of youth. See the next note.

where the river Sarasvatī (in whom, *ib. ii. 41. 17*, "are deposited all ages of life") is declared to "provide all good things," like the inexhaustible cow of olden (or pot of modern) lore. As has already been remarked, it is in the Sarasvatī that Vena, the leper (also a "son of Bhṛgu") bathed and thereby cured himself. It is interesting to compare Ktesias' account of the Indian river Balada ('Hyparkhos', 'Hypobarus'; the name, he says, means "bearing all good things"),¹ in which those afflicted with scab and leprosy were cured.

The Rig Veda account of Cyavana (above) says that the Aśvins removed his skin, which may indicate that this earliest version of the tale recognized Cyavana not only as decrepit but as a leper. Of this, however, there is no further intimation.² The modern Amritsar, or 'lake of immortality,' the 'centre of the Sikh religion,' owed its first reputation to a similar cure of a leper. Crooke (*op. cit.* p. 59) says that there is another 'tank' like it at Lalitpur. It is chiefly the cure of leprosy which results in a youthful appearance. In this way Naaman himself might have said of Jordan that it rejuvenated him, whose "flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child." The same expression, used in describing the sanative effects of the Hot Springs in the "Ozark legends," is an imitation of a conventional phrase (see p. 57).

Turning now to the form of the Cyavana legend as presented in the great epic, we find some curious modifications. Sukanyā here makes the acquaintance of her future husband through an accident due to girlish curiosity. The great ascetic has sat still so long that ants have built a hill over him, but out of this his

¹ The name means literally "strength-giving," and is applied to a well into which, according to Ktesias, everything thrown descended but was at once cast forth again. Those suffering from scab or leprosy threw themselves into the Balada pool and were thrown out cured. Ktesias mentions that the wine-water of the Phasis was also a restorative. It is quite significant of the Greek's ignorance of any myth of the Fountain of Youth that he mentions no waters of rejuvenating power although he enumerates all the magical wells and rivers from the Indus to Sicily (such as the rivers of wine, of gold, and of madness).

² To "leave the old skin" is a formula of rejuvenation under any circumstances. Thus when the aged Śarabhaṅga burned himself in fire, he "left the old skin" and became a "fair young man," as he started for heaven. R(B). iii. 5. 40. In RV. x. 39. 4, Cyavāna is described as "like an old car" (made over to go). See above, p. 40, note.

eyes gleam like fireflies. Wondering what they are, Sukanyā pierces them, which angers the saint, and he demands the girl in reparation. Some time after this, the Aśvins chance to see her and ask her who she is, adding that they wish to know her. She replies that she is Cyavana's wife. Then the two Aśvins laugh and say, "Cyavana has gone his road (i. e. he is very old); why has your father given you to him? You are glorious as lightning . . . why do you, who are so beautiful, serve such an age-worn passionless husband? . . . Forsake Cyavana and choose one of us." She replies that she is pleased with her husband, and tells them not to doubt her. "But they addressed her again, saying, 'We are the two divine physicians; we will make your husband young and beautiful. Then do ye choose one of us three as your husband'." To this she agrees and on her telling the son of Bhṛgu (Cyavana), he assents to the proposal. "Then the two Aśvins addressed her and said, 'let your husband go into the water' (here represented as the Narmadā river). Thereupon Cyavana quickly entered the water in his desire for beauty. The Aśvins also then went into the stream. A moment after they came up out of the stream, divinely fair, all of them, and youthful, (wearing) brilliant ear-rings. And equally beautiful, equally charming, spoke all together, 'Choose one of us, the one you desire.' She, seeing they were all alike beautiful, after wise reflection,¹ chose him who was her own husband." In another part of the Mahābhārata, it is said that Cyavana had a son by Sukanyā, and that his son's son was Ruru, who gave up half his life and thereby resuscitated the dead body of the girl he loved.²

To this epic version of the story of Cyavana there is an after-piece, in which is related how Cyavana overcomes Indra, who is represented as enraged because the vulgar Aśvins (they mingled too much with men to be quite respectable) have been made participants in the Soma by Cyavana. The seer not only paralyzes Indra but creates a monster Mada (intoxication), who frightens all the gods. But when his *raison d'être* is accomplished, this demon of intoxication is disposed of in the following manner. One quarter of him is deposited in drink (which

¹ This probably means that she tacitly appealed to the Aśvins themselves to direct her choice, as in the Puranic version (below).

² See the reference, above, p. 3, note 3.

the scholiast, at Mbh. iii. 125. 8, says is brandy, surā), one quarter in women, one quarter in dice, and one quarter in hunting (madness¹ possesses those who indulge in drink, venery, gambling, and gluttony).² This, however, leads away from the subject of rejuvenation and I mention it here only to explain that the same after-piece, though in another form and curiously united with another legend, is found also in the Jāminiya Brāhmaṇa.³

But the tale of Cyavana is too well believed in India to die out with the epic. Centuries after this it appears again in Puranic literature, being alluded to in the Vishnu and told at length in the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas. Thus it is brought down far into the Christian era, to a time probably not long before it appears in Europe in the imported Oriental romance. In India itself, at the time of Somadeva, in the eleventh century, where, as has been seen, charms for raising the dead, such as are found in parallel Russian, Teutonic, Grecian, and Syrian stories, are still in vogue, there is also a story (tar. 41) of an elixir of ancient days which gave freedom from old age and of an attempt to make ambrosia of certain drugs; but at the command of Indra and the Aśvins(!) the manufacture was not completed, lest men should become like gods and "earth become free of age and death." On the other hand, modern⁴ rejuvenation by means of drugs is regarded as a silly fable, a fit subject of scorn and ridicule.

There is no essential difference between the epic account of Cyavana's rejuvenation and that, for example, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, save that in the latter the pool is "made by the Siddhas," or angelic 'perfected' saints, and that the motive of

¹ Gellius, xix. 2, cites τὴν σοφουσίαν εἶναι μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν (Democritus or Hippocrates), which may serve as a parallel.

² With this quartette of vices compare AV. vi. 70. 1: yathā māṁsaṁ yathā surā yathā 'kṣā adhidevane: yathā puṁso vṛṣaṇyata striyāṁ nihan-yate manaḥ (attachment to flesh, intoxication, gambling, and lustfulness).

³ Text and translation are given below, p. 64 f.

⁴ Compare the tale of the foolish king Vilāsaśīla in Kathās. 40. 42 ff. He was persuaded to undergo a course of treatment with drugs for eight months, in order to be rejuvenated, and is called a fool. For it is admitted that in old time there were such rasas, elixirs; but the present vegetables (drugs) have "the opposite" effect and are tools in the hands of rascals, dhūrtās, for "Can time once past return?"

seduction on the part of the deities is quite omitted. Moreover, though there remains the fabric of the trick by means of which in the earlier version the Ásvins sought to deceive Cyavana, yet in this later form the twin gods make no effort to avail themselves of it, nor is Cyavana represented as outwitting them; but Sukanyā throws herself upon their mercy and at once obtains it. The tale, as related, Bhāg. P. ix. 3. 11 ff., runs thus. The Ásvins (for no apparent reason) come to the hermitage of the seer. Cyavana, after duly paying reverence to them, says: "Give me vigor, O ye who have power (to do this), and, albeit you have no share in the Soma, I will take for you a draught of Soma at the sacrifice" (vayo me dattam íśvarāu; grahaṁ grahiṣye somasya yajñe vām apy asomapoḥ). "Very good" (bādham), they say, and at once issue the prescription, "Immerse yourself in this saint-made pool," *nimajjatām bhavān asmin hrade siddhavinirmite*,¹ whereupon the old man enters the water, but "out of the water came three men," alike beautiful and each wearing beautiful wreaths and ear-rings.² Then, Sukanyā, being unable to distinguish them, "took refuge with the Ásvins; and they, pleased with her wifely devotion (*pāti-vratya*), revealed the saint her husband, and went to heaven." The piquancy of the old tale is here lost. It has become eminently respectable, and the Ásvins' conduct is beyond reproach. But the Fountain of Youth survives, and it is still pointed out by the two gods who are themselves besung in the Rīg-Veda as the "ageless pair," *ajarayū*, and who not only give the appearance of renewed youth but actually "push back death" (AV. vii. 53. 1.).

It would not be strange if it were this very fountain which, on the path of so many Hindu fables, passed eventually into the Occident, inspiring alike the *trouvères* of France and the author

¹ There is a Tīrtha called 'Siddha-water,' *Siddhodaka*; but it is on Mt. Meru, *Kathās*. 119. 81.

² The later the tale the more the adornments. At first Cyavana is simply furnished with a new skin; then he comes up with a most beautiful form; then he wears brilliant ear-rings; finally he comes out of the water with a wreath as well as with ear-rings. This tendency to show (observed by the Greeks) reminds one of the criticism of the Hindus in *The Furdle of Facions*. The disapproving old English critic quaintly says that the Hindus are "in trimming and arraieng of their bodies, to, to, gaude glorious."

of Wolfdietrich in Germany, perhaps still echoing in the elaborated myth connected with the Silver and Sulphur Springs of Florida.¹ That the water of the Fountain of Youth mingled with the 'water of life,' the source of which is one with that of the 'tree of life,' is tolerably certain. Such details as are shown in Wolfdietrich and the 'Land of Youth' are significant of this. But the converging evidence of the European writers who refer the myth of the Fountain in its various forms to the Orient, makes for the explanation here advocated rather than for the assumption that the Fountain of Youth is 'universal' or belongs to the prehistoric thesaurus of Indo-European legend.² What the imagination of Greece failed of itself to invent, what Europe lacks in its oldest traditions and eventually refers to the Orient, is probably not European but Oriental. The water of life was supplied from Semitic tradition filtering through a foreign medium. The Fountain of Youth also derived from the Orient, but apparently it originated not among the Semites but among the Hindus.

Perhaps the strangest fact in connection with the legend of the Fountain of Youth is the persistence with which the idea has been cherished in India, the land where in later days the joys of life have been most undervalued and a renewal of earthly existence most dreaded; where, to Brahman and to Buddhist alike, the aim of man has not been rejuvenation but cessation from physical activity. But, on the other hand, it may be because of this very teaching that the tale was so well liked

¹ If the pools of healing be excepted (and most of them are quite modern) there are no pools in India which can rival the Sarasvatī pool in antiquity and reputation, though there are now other pools of rejuvenation (in Bengal, etc.). Crooke, *op. cit.*, i. p. 59 (add *Rāj. Gaz.* iii. 125), includes in his references pools simply sanative.

² In 1875, Darmesteter, under the influence of Kuhn, could say in his *Haurvatāt et Ameretāt*, p. 71: "Cyavana sortant rajeuni des vagues est un mythe germanique et grec aussi bien qu'indien," and add the note: "A la même source coule l'eau de la vie, cherchée en vain par l'Alexandre de la légende persane." Rohde, although in *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 183, he inclines to believe in Oriental influence on the early Greek romance-writers, in *Psyche*, p. 390, speaks of the water of life as an 'uraltes Märchen' common to many peoples. It must be remembered, however, that in the latter passage Rohde is speaking of the ambrosia given in the world of the dead, not of a spring to be sought by the living.

and preserved among the people, who had, perhaps, more human nature than either Brahman priest or Buddhist monk could eradicate.

Finally, it is scarcely possible to study the state of mind leading to this persistence without asking oneself, Is it a sign of strength or weakness? At first sight it does indeed seem to betray a morbid discontent, and I suppose no one has heard 'Backward, turn backward, O Time, in thy flight' without some feeling of contempt for the man who wanted to be made "a child again, just for to-night." But, after all, the desire for renewed strength is the lure to the real Fountain, as says the writer of *Palingenesis*:

Oh, give me back, I cried, the vanished splendours,
The breath of morn and the exultant strife,
When the swift stream of life
Bounds o'er its rocky channel and surrenders
The pond, with all its lilies, for the leap
Into the unknown deep.

As long as a man sympathizes with strength and seeks it, he is 'whole.' To condemn it is a sign of decay. Only there is a strength physical and again a strength intellectual, or spiritual, as the Hindu calls it. The philosopher transferred his sympathy and search; the 'man apart' (the priest's name for the common man) held fast to the old ideal. The trouble with India for the last two thousand years or more has been that 'apart'.

There is also in India the *vijarā nadī*, 'ageless river', which stands beside the 'tree of sustenance', KU. i. 3. But this is in heaven, like the White Horn, the Soma, the divine honey of the Finns, the Urdsquelle of the Teutons. From all these, as from the Kinderbrunnen of the Germans, the earthly near-by Fount of Youth is to be differentiated. It is only this form which I derive from India, whence also comes the modern 'flask of Youth', sold to-day, it is said, in Java (as in Sicily).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

To p. 4, note. See now Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser*, which comes to hand as this goes to press.

Apropos of the age at which man becomes 'old' (above, p. 10, note 2), Burton says that an Arab is regarded as young till he reaches the age of fifty or, as some say, sixty. (*Arab. Nights*, x. p. 438, note). El Khidr became seventeen. Baron Lahontan, in his *New Voyages to North America*, ed. Thwaites, ii. p. 418, says that if a Redskin dies at sixty he is thought to die young.

To pp. 22, note 1, and 31, note 1. As to the derivation of the Sindbad story itself from India, see Benfey, *Pañc.* ii. p. 447.

To p. 29, note. Prof. Torrey calls my attention to the *Kitāb el-Mu'ammari'n*, treating of the age of Moslem saints (ed. Goldziher). To the extraordinary tales of prolonged life might have been added the case of the Chinaman Pung, who, as narrated in the *Astley Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iv. p. 218, lived to the age of eight hundred years and had seventy-two wives. The indiscretion of his last wife cost him his life. For Pung's sheet in the Ledger of Fate had by chance been caught up in the binding so that the divine accountant did not find his name, and could not blot it out at the usual time. To satisfy his wife's insistent curiosity Pung told her the facts in strictest confidence. She could not keep the secret. The accountant soon heard of it and at once looked up the sheet, found Pung's name, blotted it out, and "so he died."

To p. 51 (also p. 26). The collection of tales published by J. W. Buel in 1880, entitled *Legends of the Ozarks*, is a forgery. The Ozark Indians of Arkansas have healing springs, and like the possessors of such springs elsewhere attribute more or less magical power to the waters. But they have no legend corresponding to that of the Fountain of Youth, and the hints to the contrary in the *Legends of the Ozarks* are due merely to imitation (on the part of the American author) of the Ponce de Leon legend. See a communication on this point by the present writer published in the *N. Y. Nation*, April 13, 1905, p. 289.

TEXT OF THE CYAVANA-STORY OF THE JĀIMINĪYA BRĀHMAṆA.
(BOOK THREE, CAP. 120 f.)

Cyavano vāi Bhārgavo Vāstupasya¹ brāhmaṇam avet,² sa putrān abravīd, Vāstupasya³ vāi brāhmaṇam veda, tam mā vāstāu⁴ nidhāya triḥ⁵ punaḥ prayāṇam prayāte 'ti. Te 'bruvan, na śakṣyāma, ākrośanavanto⁶ bhaviṣyāmaḥ, pitaram ahāsiṣur⁷ iti naḥ vakṣyanti⁸ 'ti; ne 'ti ho 'vāca, tena vāi yūyaṁ vaṣīyāṁso bhaviṣyatha, teno eva mama punaryuvatāyā āsā; hitvāi 'va prayāte 'ti tām ajñāpayat.⁹ Tām Sarasvatyāi śāśave nidhāya triḥ¹⁰ punaḥ prayāṇam prāyān¹¹. So 'kāmayata vāstāu hīnaḥ¹² punaryuvā syām kumārīm jāyām vindeya¹³ sahasreṇa yajeye 'ti; sa etat sāmā 'paśyat tenā 'stuta. (2) 120.

Tām tuṣṭuvānam Śaryāto Mānava grāmeṇā 'dhyavāsyat, tam kumārā gopālā mṛdā śakṛtpiṇḍāir āsapāṇḍubhir adihan, so 'sam-jñām Śaryātebhyo¹⁴ 'karot; tan na mātā putram ajānān na putro mātaram vā.¹⁵ So 'bravīc Charyāto¹⁶ Mānavaḥ, kim ihā 'bhitah kim cid adrāṣṭa yata idam ittham abhūd iti; tasmāi ho 'cur, nanu tato 'nyat,¹⁷ sthavira evā 'yaṁ niṣṭhāvah śete; tam adya kumārā gopālā 'vipālā mṛdā śakṛtpiṇḍāir āsapāṇḍubhir adikṣus,¹⁸ tata idam ittham abhūd iti. (3) 121.

Sa ho 'vāca, Cyavano vāi sa Bhārgavo 'bhūt, sa Vāstupasya¹⁹ brāhmaṇam veda, tam nūnam putrā vāstāu hitvā prāyāsiṣur iti; enam²⁰ ādrutya 'bravīd, ṛṣe namas te 'stu, Śaryātebhyo²¹ bhago mṛde 'ty, atha ha Sukanyā Śaryātī²² kalyāṇy āsa; sa ho 'vāca, sa vāi me Sukanyām dehī 'ti, tām ne²³ 'ti ho 'vācā, 'nyad dhanām brūṣve 'ti, ne 'ti ho 'vāca, Vāstupasya²⁴ vāi brāhmaṇam veda, tām ma iho 'panidhāya²⁵ sāyam evā 'dya grāmeṇa yātād iti, te vāi [ūcuḥ] kathā²⁶ tvā 'mantrayitvā pratibravāme 'ti, te ho 'cur mantrayitvāi 'kaṁ vāi dve triṇi param anayā dhanāni labhema-hi, athāi 'naye 'ha sarvam eva lapsyāmahe, hantā 'smā imām dadāme 'ti. Tām hā 'smāi dadus, tām ho 'cuḥ, kumārī, sthaviro vā ayaṁ niṣṭhāvo²⁷ nā 'lam anusaraṇāya, yadāi 'va vayanṁ yunajāmahā athā 'nvādhāvatād iti. Sā he 'yaṁ yuktam grāmam

¹ vastu paśya (see the notes below). ² evet. ³ vāptu paśya. ⁴ vāstāu. ⁵ -ā 'taḥ? ⁶ -te. ⁷ ahāsiṣur. ⁸ neḥ pakṣanti. ⁹ ajñāpayat(?). ¹⁰ -ā 'taḥ? ¹¹ -an. ¹² hi niḥ. ¹³ kumārījāyām vindeva. ¹⁴ śaryyātebhyo. ¹⁵ va. ¹⁶ bravīchayyāto. ¹⁷ tatonyak (altered, uncertain). ¹⁸ adikṣus(?); see the notes below. ¹⁹ sic. ²⁰ iti nam. ²¹ śaryyātebhyo. ²² śaryyāttyā. ²³ tene (tanne?). ²⁴ sic. ²⁵ -dhāyā. ²⁶ te vāi kā (sic). ²⁷ niṣṭhāmvo.

anusariṣyanty uttasthāu; sa ho 'vācā, 'he paridhāva sakhāyaṁ jīvaṁ (?) hāyinaṁ iti.¹

Sā yad eti² (4. 122) kṛṣṇaḥ sarpa u hāi 'vāi 'nām pratyutta-sthāu, sā ha tad³ eva nirvidyo 'paviveśa⁴ hā; 'śvināu darvihomi-ṇāu bhiṣajyantāv idaṁ ceratur anapisomāu, tāu vāi tām etyo 'catuḥ, kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nā 'lam patitvanāyā, 'vayor jāyāi 'dhī 'ti, ne 'ti ho 'vācā, yasmā eva mā pitā 'dāt tasya jāyā bhaviṣyāmi 'ti, tad dhā 'yam ājughoṣā,⁵ 'tha ha⁶ tāu preyatus, sa ho 'vācā, kumāri ko nv eṣa ghoṣo 'bhūd iti; puru-ṣāu me 'māv upāgātām yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇā(m) tena rūpeṇa 'ti; tāu tvā kim avocatām iti, kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nā 'lam patitvanāyā, 'vayor jāyāi 'dhī 'ti; sā tvam kim avoca iti, ne 'ty aham avocaṁ, yasmā eva mā pitā 'dāt tasya jāyā bhaviṣyāmi 'ti. (5) 123.

Tad dhā 'sya priyam āsa. Sa ho 'vācā, 'śvināu vāi tāu darvihomiṇāu⁷ bhiṣajyantāv idaṁ carato 'napisomāu, tāu tvāi 'tad evā 'gatya śvo vaktārāu, tāu tvam brūtād, yuvaṁ vā asarvāu stho yāu devāu santāv asomapāu sthaḥ, sarvo vāi mama patir yaḥ somapa iti⁸; tāu vāi tvā vaktārāu, kas tasye 'śe yad āvam apisomāu syāve 'ty, ayam mama patir yaḥ somapa⁹ iti brūtāt; teno eva me punaryuvatāyā āśe 'ti. Tāu hāi 'nām śvobhūta etyāi 'tad evo 'catuḥ, sā ho 'vācā, yuvaṁ vā asarvāu stho yāu devāu santāv asomapāu sthaḥ, sarvo vāi mama patir yaḥ somapa iti; tāu ho 'vācatuḥ, kas tasye 'śe yad āvam apiso-māu syāve 'ty, ayam mama patir iti ho 'vācā. (6) 124.

Tam ho 'vācatur, ṛṣe 'pisomāu nāu bhagavaḥ kurv iti, tathe 'ti ho 'vācā, tāu vāi nu mām yuvam punaryuvānaṁ kurutam iti. Tam ha Sarasvatyāi śāisāvam abhyapacakarṣatuḥ; sa ho 'vācā, kumāri sarve vāi sadṛśā udeṣyāmo 'nena mā lakṣmakena¹⁰ jñātād iti, te ha sarva eva sadṛśā udeyur yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇāṁ tena rūpeṇa; tam he 'yam jñātvā vām hā 'pabibhedā, 'yam¹¹ mama patir iti. Tam ho 'catur, ṛṣe 'kurvā 'vaṁ tava tam kāmāṁ yas tava kāmo 'bhūt, punaryuvā 'bhūr, āvām ca¹² tathā 'nuśādhi yad āvam apisomāu syāve 'ti. (7) 125.

Sa ho 'vācā, devā vā ete Kurukṣetre 'paśīrṣṇā¹³ yajñena yaja-mānā āsate, te tam kāmāṁ nā 'pnuvanti yo yajñe kāmas; tad

¹ See the notes, below. ² Iti. ³ sāhamtad. ⁴ paviveśā. ⁵ ajaghoṣā.

⁶ he. ⁷ sahoca. ⁸ -homino. ⁹ yas somapati.

¹⁰ cancelled (but evidently to be retained) are yas somapā (sic).

¹¹ sic! ¹² jñātvā vāhāvabibhedeyaṁ. ¹³ bhūtrāvāṁcamtathā.

¹⁴ paśīrṣyā.

yajñasya śiro 'chidyata; tad yad Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇo 'nvapaśyat taṁ tat pṛchataṁ,¹ sa vām tad anuvakṣyati tato 'pisomāu bhaviṣyatha iti; tad yat tad yajñasya śiro 'chidyate 'ti so 'sāv ādityaḥ, sa u eva pravargyas;² tāu ha Dadhyañcam Ātharvaṇam ājagm(at)us³ taṁ ho 'catur, ṛṣa upa tvā 'yāve 'ti, kasmāi kāmāye 'ty, etad yajñasya śiro 'nuvakṣyāvaha' iti, ne 'ti ho vāce, 'ndro vāi tad apy apaśyat, sa mā 'bravīd, yadi vā idam anyasmāi brūyāḥ⁴ śiras te chindyām iti, tasmād bibhemī 'ti; sa vāi nāv anenā 'śvasya śīrṣṇā 'nubrūhī 'ti, tathe 'ti ho 'vāca, sa vāi nu vām saṁvadamānāu⁵ paśyānī 'ti, tāu he 'māu svām śiro nidhāye 'dam aśvasya śiraḥ pratisaṁdhāyā 'taḥ' saha sma saṁvadamānāv āsāte, sāma gāyamānāv ṛcam yajur abhivyāharantāu; tābhyām ha śraddhāya tenā 'śvasya śīrṣṇā 'nūvāca. (8) 126.

Tad Indro 'nvabudhyata, prāhā, 'bhyām avocad iti, tasyā 'drutya śiraḥ prāchinad, idam aśvasīrṣam; atha yad asya svām śira āsīt tad imāu manīṣiṇāu pratisamadhattām. Tāu ha devān ājagmatur apasīrṣṇā yajñena yajamānāns; tān ho 'catur, apaśīrṣṇā vāi yajñena yajamānā āddhve,⁶ te taṁ kāmān nā 'pnutha yo yajñe kāma iti. Kas tad yajñasya śiro vede 'ty, āvam iti, tad vāi pratisaṁdhattam iti; tābhyām vāi nāu grahaṁ grhṇīte 'ti, tābhyām etaṁ āśvinaṁ grahaṁ grhṇāns; tāv abruvan, yuvam evā 'dhvaryū sthas, tāu tat prajānantāv etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratisaṁdhāsyatha iti, tathe 'ti, tāv adhvaryū āstām, tat tāv apisomāv abhavatām. (9) 127.

Atha ha Cyavano Bhārgavaḥ punaryuvā bhūtvā 'gacchac' Charyātam Mānavān, tam prācyām sthalyām āyājayat; tad asmāi sahasram adadāt, tenā 'yajatāi, 'tad vāi Cyavano Bhārgava etena sāmnā stutvā punaryuvā' bhavat, kumārīm jāyām avindata, sahasreṇā 'yajatāi; 'te vā etasmin sāman kāmā, etān eva kāmān avarundhe, yatkāma evāi 'tena sāmnā stute sam asmāi sa kāmā ṛddhyate, 'tho ha smāi 'tenāi 'va sāmnā Cyavano Bhārgavo yad yad aśanaṁ cakame tad tad dha sma Sarasvatyāi śāśavād¹⁰ udacati; tad v annādyasyā 'varuddhisāmā, 'vā 'nnādyān rundhe 'nnāśreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati ya evaṁ veda; yad u Cyavano Bhārgavo 'paśyat tasmāc Cyāvanam ity ākhyāyate.

¹ Conjecture. text : taṁ tachā (i. e. cch)atam (see notes below).

² Cf. ŚBr. xiv. 1. 1. 27. ³ ājagmastu. ⁴ nuvakṣyāvahā iti. ⁵ brūyāt.

⁶ saṁsaṁvad. ⁷ pratisaṁdhāyate. ⁸ ādhve. ⁹ gacharyyātam.

¹⁰ śeśavād.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE CYAVANA STORY.

§ 120. Vāstupasya: Of the various forms given in the text, that which was selected for former translation, vāstupāśya, is preferable to the meaningless vāptupaśya. But the frequent interchange of the palatal and dental sibilant (cf. ahāśisur in this paragraph) would alone be sufficient to make more acceptable the pasya form, since that, as a genitive, gives a reason for the position of vāi. It is unfortunate that vāstupāśya, as a name of a Brāhmaṇa, has thus found its way into the (pw.) smaller Petersburg lexicon. Reading the genitive, we at once gain a further light on the connection. "I know the *brāhmaṇa* of Vāstupa" is the logical prelude to what follows. For Vāstupa is the lord of the leavings of the sacrifice, and hence the lord of one who is left or deserted. A parallel may be found in Śat.Br. I. 7. 3. 1. f.: Yajñena vāi devāḥ | divam upo 'dakrāmann atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām iṣṭe sa ihā 'hiyata, tasmād Vāstavya ity āhur vāstāu hi tad ahiyata. (7) tasmād vāstavya ity āhur vāstu hi tad yajñasya yad dhuteṣu haviḥṣu. The two titles of Rudra-Śiva are found together in MS. ii. 9. 7: Namo Vāstavvyā ca Vāstupāya ca.

As to the first part of the compound *vāstupa*, there is, of course, no doubt that the Hindu liturgical writers connected it with vāstu 'place,' as they did vāstavya. But that vāstupa should really mean "maintaining the (abandoned) place," thus leaving the radical notion of the compound to an inference, is not very likely. This notion is that of a deserted place, and was probably at first expressed not by vāstu "place," but by **vastu*,¹ Lat. vastus, English 'waste.' 'Lord of the desert-waste' is a fit epithet of Śiva, and as desert-lord he is properly invoked by the deserted. The MS. has both vāstu and vāstu; but for this late text the latter alone may be right.

In the ŚBr. the aged saint is merely described as deserted. In the JBr. he is clearly deserted by his sons, and apparently this was not an extraordinary case. Practically the old man is exposed to die. A case where the sons squabble over the division of their father's property while he is practically deserted is mentioned in this same Adhyāya, § 156: "When Abhipratāraṇa was lying used up with old age, jīṛṇaḥ śayānaḥ, his sons divided the

¹ The corresponding vāstavya can also derive from vāstu or *vāstu.

inheritance and made a great noise about it. 'What is that noise?' ko ghoṣa iti, he asked. And they said to him, 'Sir, your sons are dividing the inheritance,' dāyaṁ vibhajanta iti," etc.

In this same paragraph, § 120, the old translation countenanced the suspicious triḥ with punar, reading triḥ punaḥ prayānam prayāte 'ti, since it gives (hesitatingly) 'go forth with thrice repeated departure.' It might be imagined that triḥ, if accepted, should go with nidhāya; but the true reading, I suspect, is nidhāyā 'taḥ, 'deposit me and then depart.'

§ 121. At the end of this paragraph, my transcription of the Grantham gives adikṣus. Professor Whitney, though he used my transcription when making his translation (PAOS., May, 1883), appears to have read adhikṣus and he adopted the latter form in his List of Roots. It is at least doubtful.

§ 122. The feminine Śāryātā of the text I have not ventured to introduce in place of the usual form. The final words of this section are very uncertain. The ji is separated by cancelled syllables (yaṁ niṣṭhaṁ) from the va, which together make the basis of the old (implied) reading, jivam: "He said: 'O serpent, circumvent her deserting [her] living friend.'" I question the correctness of jivam, because the scribe has just before written niṣṭhaṁva for niṣṭhāva and apparently was about to do this again. As ya is often written for yu and e for ā we might make sakhe, yuñjīvali nām (=enām after i, as above), or read sakhā 'yam ahāyi, enām (paridhāva); but I cannot say that I have much confidence in either suggestion.

§ 125. Perhaps apavivecā for avabibhede (which Professor Whitney did not translate) would be a conjecture justified in part by the frequent interchange of p with v, and ā with e. The 'vabibheda(e) of the text can scarcely be employed in the sense (to be expected) 'I distinguish you two; this man here is my husband,' but might perhaps mean 'I divide you off.'

§ 126. Professor Whitney read (Kurukṣetre) paśiṣṇyā yajñena, 'with a victim-sacrifice' (?). But this is only one of the common cases of confusion in the making of compound letters. My transcription shows this, indeed, as the literal rendering, but the word intended is evidently apaśīrṣṇā, as required by the meaning and actually written in § 127.

The form tacchatam (taṁtachśatam) can hardly be for takṣa-tam, as the ligatures are not confused by the scribe. I suppose

a syllable to have been omitted in *taṁ tat prechatam*, "ask him about it, he will instruct you". The corresponding passage in ŚB. xiv. 1. 1. 18-27, where the same story of Dadhyanc and Indra is told with variations (but also in part with identical phraseology) might suggest *śukram* as the original: (21) *tāu he 'tyo 'catuḥ, upa tvā 'yāve 'ti, kim anuvakṣyamāṇāv ity, etaṁ śukram etaṁ yajñam yathā-yathāi 'tad yajñasya śiraḥ pratidhīyate yathāi 'sa kṛtsno yajño bhavati 'ti*, etc. The passage in ŚB. closes with citing RV. 1. 116. 12, which, following so closely the stanza cited above on Cyavana, suggests that the RV. also knew the whole tale in its later form.

In this same § 126, it would be tempting to keep the text *'nuvakṣyāvahā iti* as a future subjunctive; but the long and short vowels are probably exchanged, and the scribe's errors are so frequent that in my opinion it would be a mistake to accept any form because it is found in this manuscript. I may say in conclusion that the scribe usually uses the *upadhmānīya* sign, but now and then he writes the visarga for it (he always, I believe, uses the sibilant for the visarga before a sibilant). To the writer, or to the scribe, *na* seems to bear the same relation to *ena* as does *sa* to *eṣa*, since the latter twice writes *-i nam*. The reader will have noticed, besides the forms discussed by Professor Whitney in the notes to his translation, the irregularities *uvācatuḥ* and *cakarṣatuḥ*, known to us from the epic poets.¹ A further parallel to the epic is presented by the Brāhmaṇa's treatment of

THE TALE OF VIDANVANT AND CYAVANA.

The after-piece to this tale in the Jāiminiya is connected with the following story told in the Tāṇḍya, xiii. 11. 10, concerning one Vidanvat, who, like Cyavana, was a son of Bhṛgu. They appear to have stood together, as representatives of one family, against the gods. The Tāṇḍya version gives no reason for Vidanvat's assault on Indra. The story is told here apropos of the three chants called Vāidanvatāni, which the Tāṇḍya explains as follows:

Vidanvān vāi Bhārgava Indrasya pratyahaṁs, taṁ śug ārthat [āpnot], sa tapo 'tapyata, sa etāni vāidanvatāny apaśyat, tāiḥ

¹ In § 126, the form *jagmas(tu)* is evidently a clerical error for *jagmatus*, and not for *jagmus* (pl. for dual). In § 127, *grhṇan* is rather exceptional.

śucam apāhatā, 'pa śucam hate vāidanvatāis tuṣṭuvānah. "Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu, struck at Indra; woe came upon him. He performed austerities and had a vision of these chants (called) the Vāidanvata chants, by means of which he removed his woe. One who praises with these chants removes woe."

The JBr. has the Cyavana story of the epic, interwoven with the tale of Vidanvat as a sort of logical prelude. But this in turn depends upon Cyavana's gift of a draught of Soma to the Aśvins; while not only Cyavana but all the seers together invoke the great Mada demon. Finally, partly as in the epic (see above, p. 52), the demon is laid by being induced to enter into the intoxicating drink surā. In this account, the story of Cyavana is picked up where it was left in § 128 (compare, above, the phrases prācyām sthalyām and tābhyām grahaṁ grhṇāta). The whole tale is told as follows:

§ 159. Atha triṇi vāidanvatāni. Śaryāto vāi Mānavah prācyām sthalyām ayajata.¹ Tam ha ṛṣayo yājayām cakrus, tad ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ soma(m) sampibāns, tad ubhayāir devamanuṣyāir uttamaṁ somaṁ sampītas²; tasmiṁś Cyavano Bhārgavo 'śvibhyām grahaṁ agrhṇāt. Tam Indras camasaṁ vā agrhṇāt, ko 'yam ajñātaś camasaṁ pracaratī 'ti; tasya Vidanvān Bhārgavaḥ pratyahan, kaś tam camasaṁ (m)imāṁsitum arhati yaṁ vā 'yam' prayachatī 'ti' (159). Te devā akrudhyann, akrudhyann ṛṣayas; te nā 'vanatā(?)' Maruta ṛṣṭihastā atiṣṭhann, idānīm idam paryākariṣyāmo 'the 'daṁ sarvaṁ mardīṣyata ity āhu(r)'³; ṛṣayo Madam āsuram udāhvayan; sa u tṛṇdann ivā⁴ 'ntarikṣaṁ śīrṣṇā 'bhyayāt'; sā mahatī samad⁵ āsīt. So 'gnir Indram abravīd, vyetu te krodhaḥ śreyāṅso vā ete 'smad'; yadi vā etān krodha iṣyati ne 'ha kiṁ cana pariśekṣyata, etebhyo vāi vayanī jātās(s)ma iti. Tasyā 'gnir eva krodhaṁ vyanayat. Sa Indro vītakrodhaḥ saha devāḥ prādravat. Teṣām apendro 'padevo yajño 'bhavat; te 'kāmayanta,¹⁰ sendro naḥ sadevo yajña(h) syād iti. Sa etāni Vidanvān Bhārgavo sāmāny apaśyat, tāir¹¹ astuta, tāir¹² Indram āhvayat, tāir aśya krodhaṁ vyanayat. Tato vāi teṣām Indro yajñam upāvartata, tata ebhyo 'napakramy

¹ This sentence introduces still another tale, told at JUB. ii. 7. 1 (translated by Professor Oertel, JAOS. xvi. p. 149).

² somasthaṁpītas. ³ vayanī prayachetīti. ⁴ tenavanatīyo. ⁵ aha.

⁶ evā.

⁷ Altered and doubtful.

⁸ samam.

⁹ vetu te krodhaśreyāṅso vā ete smid. ¹⁰ ye kām. ¹¹ āir. ¹² ter.

abhavat, tata eṣa' sendraḥ sadevo yajño 'bhavat. Tāni vā etāni sendrāṇi sadevāni sāmāni; sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavaty, abhy asye 'ndro yajñam āvartate, nā 'syo sa Indro' yajñād apakrāmati ya evaṁ veda. Paśavo ha khalu vāi vidanvanta (?) etā rco vidanvatīḥ, tāsū etam ṛṣabham vāidanvatam ava (?) srjanti' mithunatvāya prajananāya; mithunenā 'jāyate ya evaṁ veda. Yad u Vidanvān Bhārgavo 'paśyat, tasmād vāidanvatāni 'ty ākhyāya(n)te (160). Atha ha mahā-Mada' āsuro bibhayām cakāra, sa ho 'vāca, mā mām moghāyo 'dāhvata,¹ vi mā nidhatte 'ti. Te 'bruvan, pāsyāma' iti manyamānāḥ, surām āharāma Varuṇasyā 'ndho'; 'dhi tasyām na' vā 'sit katamaś canā 'rta(h) samartyā iti, tatra Mada parehī 'ti; sa eṣa Mada āsuraḥ surāyām vinihitaḥ.

"Now (is explained the origin of the three) Vāidanvata (chants). Verily Śaryāta, the son of Manu, was sacrificing on the eastern site. The seers, in truth, conducted the sacrifice. Both gods and men then drank Soma together; (but) that was the last time gods and men drank Soma together." On this (occasion), Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, took a draught (of Soma) for the Aśvins. That cup Indra seized, saying, 'What unrecognized cup is appearing here?' Vidanvat, (another) son of Bhṛgu, struck at Indra, saying, 'Who dares to question the cup which this (seer) presents?' (159).

The gods were angry; the seers were angry. The Maruts, not hiding¹⁰ (?), stood with spears in their hands (beside Indra), saying, 'Now we are going to convulse the world; now he is going to smash the whole world.' (But) the seers summoned up

¹ eṣā.² nāsyasendro.³ avisrjanti.⁴ mahamada.

⁵ Here and above upā (call to aid) might be expected for udā, but the d is clear.

⁶ Query, -nn apāsyāma?⁷ varuṇasyāndhaso.⁸ ne.

⁹ Compare ŚBr. iii. 6. 2. 26: te ha smāi 'ta ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ pitarāḥ sampibante, sāmī 'śā sampā, te ha sma drśyamānā eva purā sampibanta utāi 'tarhy adrśyamānāḥ, 'Both gods and men and the Fathers used to drink together; this (was) their symposium. They used to be seen drinking together of old, but now invisible (they drink together).'

¹⁰ Doubtful. If the Maruts were numbered like the steeds of Vāyu and Indra (RV. iv. 48. 4) we might suppose a clerical error for te nava navatī(r) ye (Marutaḥ). The easiest clerical assumption is tām avanatyā, but the sense seems to require the ptc. Compare RV. i. 87. 1, anānatāḥ, of the Maruts.

(to their aid) the demon Mada (Intoxication). He, piercing the sky with his head, as it were, attacked (? Indra).¹ That was a great conflict. (Then) Agni said to Indra, 'Let thy anger pass away; they are better (stronger) than we. If anger shall impel them, there will be nothing left in this world. We (the gods) are born from these (seers).'² In this way Agni averted Indra's anger, and Indra, his anger gone, fled away with the (other) gods. The sacrifice of these (seers) thus became Indra-less and godless. They uttered a wish, 'May our sacrifice be accompanied with Indra and the gods.' Vidanvat (the seer), the son of Bhṛgu, had a vision of these (Vāidanvata) chants. With these he lauded, with these he invoked Indra, with these he averted Indra's anger. Thereafter,³ verily, Indra came to the seers' sacrifice; thereafter he did not depart from them; thereafter the sacrifice was accompanied with Indra and the gods. These chants are, in truth, accompanied with Indra and the gods. If anyone knows this, his sacrifice is accompanied with Indra and the gods, Indra comes to his sacrifice, nor does Indra depart (thereafter) from his sacrifice. Now, truly, the (male) sacrificial animals (are called) *vidanvat*, and these (female) Vedic verses (are called) *vidanvat*.⁴ To these (female Vedic verses) they put this Vāidanvata (chant as) a bull for the (purpose of) pairing and begetting. He who knows this is born by means of pairing. And because Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu, had the vision of these chants, they are called (the chants) of Vidanvat (Vāidanvatāni).

Now verily the monster Mada, the demon (of intoxication), became afraid and said: 'Summon me not for nothing; dispose

¹ Reading *evā* for *ivā*, "just by piercing through the sky (interspace) be attacked (or perhaps 'frightened,' the verb is open to conjectures) Indra."

² Compare RV. x. 62. 4, where the seers are called *devāputrāḥ*, that is, "having gods as sons" (but possibly "sons of the gods," according to the accent); TS. iv. 3. 10. 1 f., where gods are produced after the seers; and Manu, i. 36, where it is said, "these (great seers) produced the gods." So all the worlds "originate from this" (earth), ŚB. i. 3. 2. 4.

³ Or 'therefore,' and so below.

⁴ *vidanvantāḥ*, *vidanvatīḥ*. Possibly *khalu vāi*, as a phrase, has changed the reading (*khalu vāidanvatāḥ* ?). The epithet *vidanvat* (perhaps once used of Cyavana himself) is of doubtful meaning.

of me (somewhere)'. They, thinking 'we will drink (him)',¹ said, 'Let us fetch hither Brandy (personified), the sap of Varuṇa'; for no one was ever injured,² to hurt, in Brandy. There (into Brandy) do thou go away, O Mada.' So this Mada, the demon (of intoxication), was deposited in Brandy."³

¹ So the text, which is secured by sandhi. But perhaps originally not pāsyāma but apāsyāma was read (with abruvann; the iti makes no great difficulty). Then the meaning would be 'Let us send him off.'

² Compare ŚBr. v. 1. 2. 1: Prajāpater vā ete andhasī yat somaś ca surā ca, 'Soma and Brandy are the two saps of Prajāpati.' The mythological name of surā (brandy) is Vāruṇī 'daughter of Varuṇa.' The MS. reading (given in the notes above) would mean 'from the sap of Varuṇa'; but as surā is herself the sap, I have emended to *andh(as)o* (as corrected but undeleted). If vāruṇasya were read, andhaso might be retained, '(her) of the Varuṇa-sap.'

³ Perhaps canartaḥ (for canārtaḥ) should be read ('got into Brandy to his hurt').

⁴ A Vedic quotation follows (RV. ix. 108. 18) and the story ends. It is an interesting fact that in modern India the name of this 'daughter of Varuṇa' has actually been changed in Oudh in accordance with the tale here related. She is no longer known as Vāruṇī but is worshipped as 'Madain,' the female Mada-divinity. Compare Crooke, *Folk-lore of Northern India*, ii. p. 125: "Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, has nowadays been replaced by Madain, who is venerated by Chamārs in Oudh."

[Note to page 42.]

The Physiologos is an Alexandrine product of the close of the second century, first mentioned by Origen. That the latter knows the work by name but does not allude to the fountain (though recognizing the eagle's ability to renew youth in some way), may show that the work did not then contain the eagle-fountain. Otherwise the date of the myth would be fixed very nearly between the time of Aelian and Origen, though the patristic East may have known the story still earlier without the classical world being acquainted with it. Cf. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiol.*, p. 71 (text, 236); Mann, *Französ. Stud.*, vi, p. 42.

*The Pahlavi text of Yasna XVII, edited with all the MSS.**
Collated.—By the Rev. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, D.D., Pro-
 fessor in the University of Oxford.

- (1) aūharmazd ī aharūv' ī aharāyih rat' yezbexūnam (2);¹
 (2) [xvatāi] ī hūdehāk'² ī mahist'³ yazat' yezbexūnam' ī' sūt-
 xvāstār (sic) zag ī' aūharmazd ī' freh- dātār ī gēhān,⁴
 (3) ac(so)dātār ī shapīrīgān' dāmān' . . .
 (4) . . . pavan valāshān' ī' rūtēnīt zōhār'⁵ [bēn ī' zōhar-
 barān'] zagīc ī' rāst' gōveshn [avestāk' ī' rāst], va'⁶ harvisp'ic
 zag ī' aharūv' mīnavad yazat' yezbexūnam.¹⁶

* As to the MSS. consulted see the Journal of the R. Asiatic Society for July, 1900, also my contribution to the Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. I now represent the terminal sign formerly reproduced as -o (or -ō) by a simple mark ', as the letter once indicated by it is no longer organic. Read bayen for bēn throughout, etc. For later improvements, see my translit. in ZDMG., April, 1905.

¹ So B (D.) and C (the parsī-pers.); A (DJ.) yazōm.

² A (DJ.), B (D.), C (the parsī-pers.), and E (M.) om. D (K^s (Sp.))'s yazat' aft. mahist'. C and Ner. have hū-d.

³ A (DJ.) yazōm.

⁴ A (DJ.) om. ī before sūt; not so B (D.). sūt-xvāstār is a repetition of the egregious error noticed before.

⁵ A (DJ.) om. ī aft. zag; not so B (D.).

⁶ A (DJ.) om. ī aft. aūhar-; not so B (D.).

⁷ B (D.) and the parsī-pers. ins. ac bef. second dātār. ac would be more properly in place aft. gēhān, so gēhānic.

⁸ So B (D.) shapīrīgān; A (DJ.) has vēhīgān on the margin dātār ī vēhīgān dāmān'; but the copyist makes trouble with signs over the first letters; and the 'v' is not expressed; D (K^s (Sp.)) vēhīgān.

⁹ B (D.) ins. ī after valāshān; not so A (DJ.) aft. yān'.

¹⁰ A (DJ.), B (D.) and E (M.) om. ī aft. zōhar.

¹¹ E (M.) ins. ī bef. zōharbarān'.

¹² A (DJ.) om. ī aft. zagīc; not so B (D.), wh. has it.

¹³ A (DJ.) om. ī aft. avestāk, so reading without the sign '' (= our former -o, or -ō). B (D.) has it, ī, however.

¹⁴ B (D.) ins. va aft. rāst'; A (DJ.) looks more like rāst' without va.

¹⁵ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. aharūv'; not so B (D.).

¹⁶ So A (DJ.), B (D.); others yazōm.

(2) xvatāi in 2 would be particularly free, or point to an erroneous text; it must be meant for gloss.

(5) *zarātūšht' aharūv' i' aharāyih rat'² yezbhexūnam'*, (6) *va' pavan valāshān' rātēnīt' zōhar [i' bēn' i' zōharbarān'] va' zagic i'¹⁰ rāst' goveshn [avestāk i'¹¹ rāst'] va'¹² harvisp'ic i' zag'¹³ aharūv' i'¹⁴ stih yazat' yezbhexūnam.*

(7) *zarātūšht' i' aharūv'¹⁵ fravāhar yezbhexūnam'¹⁶* (8) *zag i' zarātūšht' srūv' yazōm'¹⁷ [avestāk'¹⁸ va'¹⁹ zand'¹⁸]* (9) *zag i'¹⁹ zarātūšht' dēn' yazōm.²⁰*

(10) *zag i' zarātūšht' kāmāk' va'²¹ dātistān'²² yazōm'²³* (11) [*man'*] *bēn axvān' aharāyih-kāmaktūm'²⁴ [yehvūnt] min'²⁵ pēshdātān' dāmān' i' aharūvān.* (12) *dātār i'²⁶ aūharmazd i'²⁷ rāye-āōmand'²⁸ i'²⁹ gadā-āōmand yezbhexūnam.³⁰*

¹ A (DJ.); B (D.) ins. i bef. aharāyih. ² C (the parsi-pers.) trl. buzurg.

³ So B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.); others yazōm; so A (DJ.) yazōm.

⁴ A (DJ.) B (D.) om. va bef. valāshān.

⁵ C (the parsi-pers.) trl. saxāvat (f) kunam.

⁶ A (DJ.) B (D.) E (M.) om. i bef. bēn.

⁷ C (the parsi-pers.) seems to translate va bayen, or dayēn.

⁸ A (DJ.) om. i aft. bēn.

⁹ AB ins. va.

¹⁰ A (DJ.) om. i aft. zagic; not so B (D.), wh. has it.

¹¹ B (D.) ins. i aft. avestāk; not so A (DJ.).

¹² B (D.) ins. va bef. harvisp'ic; A (DJ.) looks more like the '' of rāst' formerly represented by -ō or -o.

¹³ A (DJ.), B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) ins. zag aft. harvisp'ic; B (D.) has zag i there.

¹⁴ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. i aft. aharūv'.

(6) *vāxsh-* in 6 is not rendered; yet see Nēr.'s *vāñb'ih*.

¹⁵ A (DJ.) om. i aft. aharūv'; not so B (D.).

¹⁶ B (D.) has yezbhexūnam; others yazōm aft. fravāhar.

¹⁷ A (DJ.) has yazōm aft. srūv'; others yezbhexūnam.

¹⁸ A (DJ.) B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) om. avestāk va zand.

¹⁹ A (DJ.) B (D.) ins. i bef. zarātūšht', wh. word, is decayed in A (DJ.).

²⁰ A (DJ.) has yazōm; others yezbhexūnam.

²¹ B (D.) ins. va aft. kāmāk bef. dātistān'; A (DJ.) looks more like kāmāk' dēnā.

²² B (D.) dātistān; A (DJ.) dēnā.

²³ A (DJ.) yazōm; others yezbhexūnam.

²⁴ B (D.) kāmāk'tūm; A (DJ.) kāmaktūm.

²⁵ No min in C (the parsi-pers.); in A (DJ.) and B (D.), however, min is found.

²⁶ B (D.) om. i aft. dātār; not so A (DJ.) wh. has it.

²⁷ A (DJ.) ins. i bef. rāye-; not so B (D.).

²⁸ So A (DJ.) B (D.) -mand; but the 'd' in B (D.) is 'over,' though original. D (K^s (Sp.)) -mad (so).

²⁹ B (D.) om. i aft. rāye-; not so A (DJ.), wh. has it.

³⁰ A (DJ.) has yezbex- here.

(13) zag ī vēh' mīneshn' i' vahōman' yazōm; (14) aharāyih i' pāhlūm yazōm; (15) xvatāi'-kāmak' [xshatraver] yazōm; (16) spendarmat' i' shapīr i' bōndag mīneshnih' yezbexūnam; (17) xōrdat yezbexūnam; (18) amerōdat' yazōm.

(19) dātār i' aūharmazd yazōm. (20) ātaxsh ī aūharmazd berā' yazōm; (21) mayā i' shapīr ī aūharmazd-dāt' i' aharūvīnih' (aharūvgunih(?)) yazōm; (22) xvarxshēt' ī arvand-āsp' yazōm; (23) mäh i' gōspend-tōxmak' yazōm; (24) tīshhtar star' ī rāye-āōmand' ī gadā-āōmand' yezbexūnam; (25) gōspend ī hūdehāk' rūvān' yezbexūnam.

¹ So B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.); A (DJ.) and E (M.) (NB) may also be so read vēh; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) vēs (sic), or may that sign be read vēh?

² A (DJ.) -nih ī.

³ B (D.) om. ī bef. vahōman; not so A (DJ.) wh. has ī (vah'man better).

⁴ A (DJ.) yazōm. B (D.) yezbex-.

⁵ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. pāhlūm; not so B (D.) wh. has ī.

⁶ A (DJ.) yazōm; B (D.) yezbex-.

⁷ E (M.) unites xvatāi' and kām-; not so B (D.) xvatāi'-k-; but A (DJ.) unites them.

⁸ A (DJ.) looks like ' (-o?), or va; B (D.) om. va bef. xshat-; no va in C (the parsi-pers.), but D (K⁵ (Sp.)) and E (M.) have va.

⁹ A (DJ.) yazōm; B (D.) yezbex-.

¹⁰ A (DJ.) om. 'n' in spendarmat' (so); B (D.) has it.

¹¹ A (DJ.), B (D.) om. ī bef. shapīr. ¹² A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī aft. shapīr.

¹³ A (DJ.), -nih. B (D.) mīneshn'.

¹⁴ A (DJ.) has yazōm; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) yezbex-.

¹⁵ A (DJ.) has again yezbex- here.

¹⁶ A (DJ.) returns again to yazōm here.

¹⁷ B (D.) om. ī bef. aūharmazd; not so A (DJ.) wh. has it.

¹⁸ A (DJ.) yazōm; others, with B (D.) yezbex-.

¹⁹ In A (DJ.) berā is obliterated; yazōm following is also doubtful.

²⁰ A (DJ.) yazōm? somewhat injured. ²¹ A (DJ.) ins. ī bef. shapīr.

²² B (D.) ins. ī aft. -dāt; not so A (DJ.).

²³ So A (DJ.) and E (M.); D (K⁵ (Sp.)) aharūvīnih: B (D.) aharūv'. B (D.) om. D K⁵ (Sp.)'s ī. Should we read aharūv'gunih?

²⁴ E (M.) yazōm (NB.): D (K⁵ (Sp.)) yezbex-.

²⁵ A (DJ.) has 'x'; see the original; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) xvarshēt; so B (D.).

²⁶ D (K⁵ (Sp.)) lacks a stroke in arvand (-āsp'); not so A (DJ.) nor B (D.).

²⁷ A (DJ.) has yazōm; B (D.) yezbex-.

²⁸ A (DJ.) B (D.) ins. ī aft. mäh.

²⁹ So A (DJ.), C tōxmak; B (D.) -mak'; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) cīharak.

³⁰ So A (DJ.) yazōm; B (D.) yezbex-.

³¹ B (D.) apparently read stavar, or stōr; A (DJ.), star.

³² B (D.) rāye- āōmōnd, or -hōmōnd, as usual, so gadā-āōmōnd' (sic).

³³ So B (D.) hūdehāk': not so A (DJ.), hūdehak. ³⁴ A (DJ.) yazōm.

- (26) dātār ī' aūharmazd yazōm¹;
 (27) mitr' ī' frehgāōyūt² (so) yazōm³; (28) srōsh-aharūv⁴ yezbexūnam;
 (29) rashn' (?) ī rajistak' yezbexūnam; (30) aharuvān' (i)⁵ shapīrān' ī' afzārān¹⁰ ī' afzūnīgān fravāhar yezbexūnam;¹¹
 (31) pīrūzgarīh¹² ī aūharmazd-dāt¹⁴ yezbexūnam¹⁵ [ait' man' vāhrām yazat' yemalelūnēt¹⁶]; (32) rāmeshn' ī' xvahrūm¹⁸ yezbexūnam;
 (33) vāt' ī' afzūnīg ī hūdehāk²⁰ yazōm.²¹
 (34) dātār aūharmazd yezbexūnam.²² (35) dēn' ī shapīr (i)²³ mazdayastān²⁴ yezbexūnam;²⁵ (36) aharīshvang²⁶ [i²⁶ shapīr yez-

¹ A (DJ.), B (D.) om. ī which D (K⁵ (Sp.)) has correctly.

² So A (DJ.) yazōm; D. yezbex-. ³ A (DJ.) ins. ī bef. freh-; not so B (D.).

⁴ B (D.) has frehgāōyūt', in A (DJ.) obliterated save t' ī and a part of 'f.'. D (K⁵ (Sp.)) frehgāōyūt'; C (the parsi-pers.) has šāhib ī dasht, and A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. -gaōyūt'. B meant -gao- (Av.).

⁵ So A (DJ.) yazōm; B (D.) yezbex-.

⁶ B (D.) writes as one word; but as curtailed srōshaharah (sic); is it (-aharuv-?); not so C (the parsi-pers.); A (DJ.) is obliterated save as to 's'.

⁷ A (DJ.), B (D.) give us this important reading; C (the parsi-pers.) has the traditional rāst- (?) translated rāstī. rashnū or better rashn'; so C.

⁸ B (D.) ins. ī bef. shapīrān'; not so A (DJ.).

⁹ So A (DJ.) probably om. va bef. afzār-; has -ān' (formerly -ānō), but its -ān' may pass for -ān va. B (D.) has ī for va.

¹⁰ So A (DJ.), B (D.) of -zārān, and B (D.) ins. ī bef. afzūn-; not so A (DJ.). C (the parsi-pers.) has -zārān, but without trl.; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) afzārān.

¹¹ B (D.) ins. ī bef. afzūnīgān; not so A (DJ.).

¹² So B (D.), D (K⁵ (Sp.)); A (DJ.) yazōm.

¹³ So A (DJ.) -garīh. B (D.), D (K⁵ (Sp.)) -gar or -kar; so C (the parsi-pers.), not -īh.

¹⁴ So A (DJ.) -t'; B (D.) aūharmazd-dāt; so E (M.) (NB.) -dāt'. D (K⁵ (Sp.)) aūharmazd dām (so).

¹⁵ B (D.) om. the gl. ait man' etc.; so C (the parsi-pers.) om. it. A (DJ.) has it in the margin.

¹⁶ E (M.) has curiously yemalelūnam for -ūnēt.

¹⁷ B (D.) ins. ī aft. rameshn'; A (DJ.) ins. ā sign of division and no ī.

¹⁸ So B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) translating āsānī; so A (DJ.) xvahrūm. One might suspect hu-vāstra as the original of hvāstra; see the source of the name at Y. 47. 3, SBE. xxxi., p. 149; and so as the original of xvahrūm in 16; but a hvād=svād has its claims as coming in later.

¹⁹ B (D.) ins. ī aft. vāt'; A (DJ.) has it faintly, or a faint va.

²⁰ B (D.) hūdehāk; A (DJ.) hūdehak. ²¹ A (DJ.), B (D.) yazōm.

²² A (DJ.) has yazōm throughout for yezbexūnam. ²³ ī is supplied.

²⁴ Read mazdayasnān' wh. occurs elsewhere, or else let us read -yash-tān'.

²⁵ So B (D.) aharīshvang; A (DJ.) has only arīshvang.

²⁶ A (DJ.) B (D.) ins. ī bef. shapīr.

bexūnam;¹ (37) a(r)shtāt² [yazāt³] yezbexūnam;¹ (38) asmān⁴ yezbexūnam;¹ (39) damīg ī hūdehāk⁵ yezbexūnam;¹ (40) mān-sarspend⁶ yezbexūnam.¹

(41) anaghar⁷ (sic) [ī asar] ī⁸ roshanīh ī xvadāt⁹ yezbexūnam.

(42) zag¹⁰ ī nēvak ī¹⁰ kart¹¹ aharāyīh varzeshn¹¹ yezbexūnam; (43) [garōtmān] man¹² bēn zag ī¹² zag ī vatartān¹³ rūvān¹⁴ āsāyēnd¹⁴ man¹⁵ aharūvān¹⁵ frāvāhar.

(44) zag¹⁶ ī¹⁶ pahlūm ahvān¹⁷ (ī)¹⁷ aharūvān¹⁸ yezbexūnam¹⁹ ī²⁰ rōshan²¹ ī hamāk²² xvārīh. (45) ²³ shīrīnīh va carpīh yazōm²⁴ man²⁵ taceshn²⁶ ī²⁶ mayā va²⁷ vaxsheshn²⁷ ī aūrvar. . . .

¹ A (DJ.) has yazōm throughout for yezbexūnam.

² I should think that an arsh- was meant here; but see Nēr.

³ No yazāt in B (D.), nor in C (the parsi-pers.); but it is present in A (DJ.), etc. ⁴ A (DJ.) has asīmān⁴ as elsewhere, not so B (D.)

⁵ So B (D. hūdehāk; A (DJ.) -hak.

⁶ C (the parsi-pers.) renders mānsarspend by avestā ī buzurg; see also Nēr.

⁷ B (D.) marks the 'g,' but A (DJ.) has what seems to be -nayra rendering the 'gh' of the original, but failing of the initial 'a' -priv. C (the parsi-pers.) has anaxar, and seems to translate bī-shumār; this cannot be meant for the trl. of 'asar' wh. C seems to omit. B (D.) is not thus.

⁸ A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. asar. not so B (D.). ⁹ A (DJ.) has accidental xvadāit for xvadāt. ¹⁰ A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. nēvak; not so B (D.). B (D) ins. va or' (formerly -o) bef. kart¹¹; not so A (DJ.).

¹¹ C (the parsi-pers.) has varjeshn¹¹ translated itxyār = 'choice of action.'

¹² A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. first zag; not so B (D.).

¹³ B (D.) has vartartān more rational (?) than the -agān of A (DJ.). D (K⁵ (Sp.)) and C (the parsi-pers.), which latter has -gān, the latter translating guzshendagān (sic).

¹⁴ A (DJ.) has āsāyēnd, but perhaps meant for āsāyēnd; B (D.), D (K⁵ (Sp.)) āsāyēnd. ¹⁵ A (DJ.) has erroneously rūvān¹⁵ for aharūvān¹⁵.

¹⁶ B (D.) om. zag ī; not so A (DJ.).

¹⁷ ī supplied.

¹⁸ B (D.) om. aharūvān¹⁸ here, has it aft. yezbex-.

¹⁹ A (DJ.) has yazōm aft. aharūvān¹⁹. ²⁰ A (DJ.) ins. ī bef. rōshan²⁰; not so D.

²¹ B (D) has rōshan; but A (DJ.) has -nīh; see Nēr. ²² B (D.) has hamāk.

²³ A (DJ.) seems to ins. an imperfectly written ac in the almost impossible place at the beginning of the sentence before shīrīnīh. Neither B (D.) nor M, nor C (the parsi-pers.), nor D (K⁵ (Sp.)), nor Nēr. have any sign of it; the writer began to write carpīh instead of shīrīnīh, but stopped and failed to cancel his 'c.'

²⁴ E (M.) has yazōm, so A (DJ.) yazōm; not so D (K⁵ (Sp.)) showing one of the many minor differences between D (K⁵ (Sp.)) and its 'copy.'

²⁵ A (DJ.) om. man²⁵; B (D.) has mīn for it.

²⁶ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. mayā; not so B (D.).

²⁷ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. va bef. vaxsh-.

(42) xvan- of xvanvaitīsh¹¹ misread hū- (an) and -vaitīsh or -anvaitīsh suggested kart¹¹. Elsewhere forms of xvan- are correctly rendered.

(44) h -xvārīh in 44 may mean only 'all-happy,' yet see rōshān²⁰; Nēr. is not decisive. shīrīnīh and carpīh are free in 45.

(46) az'īc'¹ shēdayyān-dāt² hamčstārīh rāī, va³ zag mūsh⁴ va⁵ zag⁶ parīg laxvārastēneshnīh⁷ rāī [aēy vad zag(i)'mat' yegavīmūnēt laxvār astēnāt],

(47) . . . laxvār nasēneshnīh⁸ rāī laxvār tarvēneshnīh rāī [aēy zag⁹ bēn¹⁰ rās yegavīmūnāt havat laxvār yaxsenunāt]¹¹, . . .

(48) va¹² patīrak' raseshnīh ī¹³ bēsh rāī [aēy vad min būn barā lā shebkōnāt¹⁴ (or shebkōnānāt?)].¹⁵

(49) . . . , va¹⁶ aharmōk'ic'¹⁷ ī anaharūv' rāī¹⁸ va sāstāric'¹⁹ ī²⁰ pūr-marg rāī²¹ [aēy vad anākīh²² ī²³ min²⁴ valāshān laxvār yaxsenunāt].

¹ A (DJ.) az'īc'; B (D.) om.

² B (D.) strangely om. az'īc' shēd-, etc., not so C (the parsi-pers.), nor the others. A (DJ.) ins. va aīt aft. -dāt, and also division sign; not so the others; see Nēr. ³ A (DJ.) om. va after rāī; not so B (D.).

⁴ C (the parsi-pers.) has mūsh; so B (D.); A (DJ.) is decayed here.

⁵ B (D.) ins. va zag bef. parīg; not so A (DJ.).

⁶ A (DJ.) astēneshnīh; B (D.) asteshnīh; so D (K³ (Sp.)) asteshnīh.

⁷ B (D.) ins. ī bef. mat'; not so A (DJ.).

⁸ See Nēr's vinaç; C (the parsi-pers.) trl. nīst kardan.

⁹ Notice the trl. of C (the parsi-pers.); is it bayen, or dayēn? A (DJ.) has zag bēn.

¹⁰ B (D.) has a doubtful yehvūnēt; C (the parsi-pers. yehvūnād). A (DJ.) has yaxsenūnāt'.

¹¹ A (DJ.) ins. va bef. patīrak'. ¹² A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī bef. bēsh.

¹³ B (D.) has a curious form as elsewhere, I think, it is shebkōnānāt, -ān- as the sign of the causative; compare the Persian -ān as against -ēn; A (DJ.) has as above shebkōnāt.

¹⁴ B (D.) ins. va; not so C (the parsi-pers.); nor A (DJ.).

¹⁵ So A (DJ.), D (K³ (Sp.)), B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) aharmōkānic; but see the orig. ¹⁶ B (D.) ins. rāī; not so A (DJ.).

¹⁷ Ins. A (DJ.), B (D.), C (the parsi-pers.) ins. ic.

¹⁸ B (D.) ins. ī aft. ic; not so A (DJ.) om. ī bef. pūrm-.

¹⁹ A (DJ.), B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) ins. rāī bef. aēy.

²⁰ So C (the parsi-pers.) translating the same as for ranj='trouble' elsewhere. ²¹ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. min.

²² C (the parsi-pers.) om. min; so B (D.) om. it; not so A (DJ.).

(46) laxvār astēneshnīh rāī, and laxvār astēnāt hardly express literally the paiti-sh- of the original. The causative form is superfluous. But notice the dat. in -tri recognised; see SBE. xxxi., p. 257.

(47) nasēneshnīh must refer to the original in a fuller sense than I think to be critical. See SBE. xxxi., p. 257.

(48) patīrak' raseshnīh certainly suggests one possible solution of the origin to the idea of 'motion'; but I think an aog='to speak' the more critically chosen analogon; see SBE. xxxi., p. 257.

(49) The gl. at 49 is excellent in itself; but it points back to a false causative sense in 47.

(50) yazōm' harvisp' mayā;² yezbexūnam harvisp' aūrvar [pavan aēvakratakīh³]; (51) yezbexūnam harvisp'⁴ man'⁴ shapīr⁵ zakar⁵ havand⁵ yazōm' harvisp'⁵ man'⁵ shapīr vagd⁵ havand.⁵

(52) yezbexūnam¹⁰ harvisp' man' mīnavad yazat' man'ic stih man' va¹¹ vēh-dehāk¹² va¹³ aharūv' havand.¹⁴ (53) yezbexūnam avartūm¹⁵ (sic) mīhan'¹⁶ va avartūm gēhān' man' spendarmat' [pavan katak-bānūkih]¹⁷ . . .

(55) . . . , drūst'-ramak va¹⁸ drūst' vīr min valā¹⁹ barā¹⁹ drūst'²⁰ aharāyīh pētākīh min valā²¹ barā²¹ drūst' cēgōn min valā barā

¹ A (DJ.) yazōm ; not so C (the parsi-pers.), nor B (D.).

² A (DJ.) has mayā under the line, but original.

³ So C (the parsi-pers.) trans. yakbāragī, or ēkbāragī. B (D.) has aēvakratīh. ⁴ B (D.) read harvisp' man' ; C (the parsi-pers.) om. man'.

⁵ A (DJ.) shapīr ; D (K⁵ (Sp.))'s parentheses are not needed ; A (DJ.), B (D.) and the parsi-pers. have shapīr zakar ; C (the parsi-pers.) trl. vēh nar ; see Nēr.

⁶ B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) have traditional hōmōnd as usual.

⁷ E (M.) has yazōm ; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) yezbexūnam ; so C (the parsi-pers.).

⁸ A (DJ.) B (D.) read harvisp' man' again.

⁹ nakad or vagd ; C (the parsi-pers.) has vakad trl. mādah ; is it mādar ?

¹⁰ A (DJ.) has yazem in Zend characters by oversight. D (K⁵ (Sp.)), and C (the parsi-pers.) have yezbexūnam. ¹¹ A (DJ.) ins. va bef. vēh-d-

¹² B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) have vēh-dehāk' ; not so A (DJ.) wh. has vēh dehak' . ¹³ B (D.) ins. va bef. aharūv' ; not so DJ.

¹⁴ B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) have traditional hōmōnd as usual.

¹⁵ So A (DJ.), etc., avartūm, a curious error ; the thvām, not otherwise translated, seems referred to in the -tūm of avartūm. As to avar-, did the termination -maidhē of yazamaidhē suggest a 'madam' ; hence 'avar-' ? C (the parsi-pers.) trl. bālātar ; not so Nēr., however, who has correctly (?) te ; an interesting point. There is nothing in the original to correspond to it ; see SBE. xxxi., p. 257.

¹⁶ D (K⁵ (Sp.)) has mām' ; but A (DJ.) cannot be read mām' ; A (DJ.) B (D.) may be read mīhan' or makān'. A (DJ.) has an additional stroke = 'va' ? C (the parsi-pers.) has a mishn' (or-nū (sic)) translated makān.

¹⁷ So A (DJ.) and C (the parsi-pers.) -bānū-, so D (K⁵ (Sp.)) (?) ; but B (D.) has katak-xvatāyīh ; see Y. 51. 18 in the Gāthas at the place, p. 880.

¹⁸ A (DJ.) om. va aft. ramak' ; the parsi-pers. has it ; and so B (D.) has it.

¹⁹ A (DJ.) is decayed at valā barā.

²⁰ B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) ins. va drūst bef. aharāyīh ; A (DJ.) has dūst', but a trace of an 'r' written over is left from the decayed portion ; see Sp.

²¹ A (DJ.) has a stroke = va bef. barā ; but 'r' is accidentally omitted from barā.

(51) Notice the translator's full recognition of the genders in the orig. expressed only in the gender of the adj. without the nouns.

katārcāi man' (? read min) tan'ān' drājtār' (sic) lanā pavan māneshn'² ketrūnēm' (so); va' aētūn' pavan hāmin' va' aētūn' pavan damastān' [aēyam apagayēhya' (or with the former false transliteration -yēhē) al yehvūnāt].

(56) aūharmazd ī aharūv' ī' aharāyīh rat' yezbexūnam.³ (57) ameshōspendān' ī' hūxvatāyān'¹⁰ ī' hūdehākān'¹² yezbexūnam;⁴ (58) asnih'¹³ ī' aharūv' ī aharāyīh rat' yezbexūnam⁵ (59); havān ī aharūv' ī aharāyīh rat' yezbexūnam⁶ [aētūn'¹⁴ cēgōn pavan srōshdron' nipisht' vad yōm bidanā]. (60) aūharmazd ī raye-āōmand ī gadā-āōmand yezbexūnam.⁷

(61) aharūvān' ī' shapīrān ī' afzārān' va'¹⁵ afzūnīgān' fravāhar yezbexūnam¹⁶ (62) lak ātaxsh ī aūharmazd berā ī' aharūv'¹⁷ aharāyīh¹⁸ rat'¹⁹ [bēn'²¹ yazeshn''] yezbexūnam.²²

¹ So A (DJ.) tan'ān'. B (D.) has tan' for tan'ān', and unites the word drājtār with tan'; or is this 'ān' really 'av'? a mere clerical error?; see Nēr.'s adha; yet see the original Zend, also C (the parsi-pers.), wh., not like B (D.), has drājtār (=dirāztār)='longer.' I cannot at all accede to drājtār which seems senseless, as does Nēr.'s equivalent; see SBE. xxxi., p. 257.

² B (D.) and E (M.) (NB) have pavan māneshn'; so Nēr.; not so C (the parsi-pers.) wh. has māneshn; but A (DJ.) may be meant for mātān.

³ ketrūnēm; so C (the parsi-pers.) -nēm, and others. A (DJ.) has -nam. This forced mistake of person arose from the previous error of lanā='we' for the original mē.

⁴ No va aft. ketrūnam in B (D.), but A (DJ.) has va aētūn' aft. ketrūnam.

⁵ A (DJ.) ins. va bef. aētūn' aft. hāmin'.

⁶ A (DJ.) has -ge- for -ga-; not so B (D.) wh. has apagayēhya (usually read -yēhē wh. is totally erroneous; perhaps even better -yahya).

⁷ A (DJ.), E (M.) om. ī bef. aharāyīh; not so B (D.). ⁸ A (DJ.) yazōm.

⁹ B (D.) has -spend ī hū-, om va, and om. -dān; i. e. ins. ī aft. -spend.

¹⁰ A (DJ.) hūxvātāyān' (sic) accidentally; C (the parsi-pers.) has -yān; so B (D.). ¹¹ B (D.) ins. ī bef. hūdehāk-; not so A (DJ.) wh. om. ī.

¹² B (D.) hūdehākān; so C (the parsi-pers. -hāk; trl. pl.); others hūdehākān.

¹³ So A (DJ.) asnih, etc.; could it be read asnyē (so)?

¹⁴ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī aft. asnih.

¹⁵ A (DJ.) has .'. sign of sectional division here, and ins. aētūn'.

¹⁶ B (D.) ins. ī bef. shapīr; A (DJ.) has va, no ī, but the sign, though on another line, is probably the non-organic terminal of -ān' (or -ānō (-āno) sic). C (the parsi-pers.) and Nēr. om. 61 altogether.

¹⁷ B (D.) ins. ī aft. shapīr-; not so A (DJ.) wh. has no ī bef. afzārān'.

¹⁸ E (M.) has va bef. afzūn-; B (D.) only ī. A (DJ.) has nothing.

¹⁹ A (DJ.) yazōm.

²⁰ B (D.) ins. ī aft. berā; others om. ī; A (DJ.), B (D.), E (M.) om. ī aharūv' aharāyīh rat'. Nēr. has . . . signs of some omitted matter.

²¹ A (DJ.) om. bēn yaz- which D (K⁵ (Sp.)) has.

²² A (DJ.) is yazōm; so E (M.).

(63) ātaxsh ī' būland sūt' (sic) yezbexūnam¹ varahrān'² [pavan aēvak-ratakih³]; (64) ātaxsh ī' shapīr fravāftār⁴ yezbexūnam [zag ī' bēn tan' ī anshutān⁵];⁶ (65) ātaxsh ī' farāx'-¹⁰ (or friyān'- so?) -zīveshn yazōm¹¹ [zag ī'¹² bēn¹³ aūrvar];

(66) . . . ātaxsh ī'¹⁴ vāzisht¹⁵ yazōm¹⁶ [zag ī'¹⁷ shēdayyā'¹⁸ ī' spenjrush¹⁹ maxītūnēt²¹]; (67) ātaxsh ī' afzūnīg yazōm²² [zag²³ ī'²⁴ bēn garōtmān' pēsh ī'²⁵ aūharmazd pavan minavadīh yegavī-mūnēt'] . . .

(68) xvatāi ī nāf'²⁶ ī'²⁶ nēryōsang²⁷ yazat' yezbexūnam.

¹ A (DJ.) om. ī aft. ātaxsh; not so B (D.). ² A (DJ.) yazōm.

³ Notice the peculiar old Sasanian for varahrān' not -rām, which latter shows degeneration. So C (the parsi-pers. trl.) translates bahrām as usual.

⁴ So A (DJ.), B (D.) aēvak-ratīh.

⁵ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. bef. shapīr; so A (DJ.) also.

⁶ So A (DJ.), so also B (D.) in margin correcting an old mistake fravāhar. Did the fravāftār='roamer' arise (not literally) from fra + ayaft? It is of course a blunder, see SBE. xxxi., p. 258. ⁷ B (D.) ins. ī bef. bēn.

⁸ B (D.) martūmān for anshutān'; A (DJ.) anshū-.

⁹ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī bef. fr-.

¹⁰ These signs may be read friyān', though the parsi-pers. has as above; the meaning corresponds; and the zīveshn may be double translation, as the urvāzishtem of itself='friendly'; but I think that the original forms were farāx=urvā, to uru='wide' and -zīveshn=-zīshitem (sic). This blunder is corrected in SBE. xxxi., p. 258.

¹¹ A (DJ.) yazōm; and om. D (K⁵ (Sp.))'s iterated trl. in yezbex-.

¹² B (D.), A (DJ.) ins. ī bef. bēn; not so the others.

¹³ A (DJ.) B (D.) om. ī bef. aūrvar.

¹⁴ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī aft. ātaxsh.

¹⁵ A (DJ.) spells vāzisht (sic) as if the word stood in the Zend characters, save as to the 'v' which in any case is in the Pahlavi character; as Pahlavi the word in A (DJ.) would be va vāzisht, which was hardly meant; and it seems also to insert a va after the ī bef. the word; B (D.) has vāzisht'; so C the p. p.

¹⁶ E (M.) and A (DJ.) have yazōm.

¹⁷ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī bef. shēd-.

¹⁸ So A (DJ.), B (D.) and E (M.).

¹⁹ B (D.) ins. ī bef. spenj-; not so A (DJ.).

²⁰ A (DJ.) and E (M.) may not report the last long ū in spenj-; A (DJ.) does not.

²¹ B (D.) and C (the parsi-pers.) have zanēt for max-; not so A (DJ.).

²² So E (M.) (NB) and A (DJ.) yazōm; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) yezbex-; so B. (D.).

²³ A (DJ.) om. zag ī bef. bēn; B (D.) has zag ī. C (the parsi-pers.) has nothing after yazōm to end of 67. ²⁴ A (DJ.) B (D.) ins. ī aft. pēsh.

²⁵ C (the parsi-pers.) has nāf translated nāf, not nāb'.

²⁶ A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. nāf' bef. nēry-.

²⁷ A (DJ.) is here decayed.

(68) In the correct būland sūt' we have a contrast to the barbarian error as to sēvishta noted at Y. ix. 30 and elsewhere.

(69) . . . , ātaxsh ī' harvispgūn'¹ ī' mǎn' mǎnpat' ī' aūharmazd-dāt ī' aūharmazd berā ī' aharūv'² ī' aharāyih rat' yazōm' levatā harvispgūn' ātaxshān'.

(70) mayā ī' shapīr ī'³ pāhlūm ī' aūharmazd-dāt' ī' aharūv'⁴ yezbexūnam;⁵ (71) va harvisp' ī'⁶ mayā ī' aūharmazd-dāt' ī' aharūvīnīh⁷ (or -vīnīg?) yezbexūnam⁸ [pavan aēvak-ratakīh⁹]; ī' harvisp' aūrvar ī' aūharmazd-dāt' ī' aharūv'¹⁰ yezbexūnam [pavan aēvak-ratakīh¹⁰] (cēgōn nipisht pavan srōsh-drōn' vad¹¹ . . .) stāyēm va karitūnam va¹² xvēshēnam¹³ va yezbexūnam . . .

(72) . . . , ī'¹⁴ mǎnīgān' va¹⁵ vīsīgān' va¹⁶ zandīgān' va¹⁷ matāyigān'¹⁸ zarātūshtrōtūmān',¹⁹ va²⁰ (73) harvisp' zag ī

¹ B (D.) ins. ī aft. ātaxsh; not so A (DJ.).

² A (DJ.) harvisgūn'; B (D.) harvisgūn (so). D (K⁵ (Sp.)) harvispān'; so others harvispān'. ³ B (D.) ins. ī aft. harvisp-; not so A (DJ.).

⁴ B (D.) ins. ī aft. mǎnpat'; not so A (DJ.).

⁵ A (DJ.) om. ī aft. berā; not so B (D.).

⁶ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. aharūv'.

⁷ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī.

⁸ A (DJ.), B (D.) yezbexūnam.

⁹ A (DJ.), and E (M.) (NB) harvispgūn'; D (K⁵ (Sp.)) harvispān' (so above). ¹⁰ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. pāhlūm: not so B (D.).

¹¹ A (DJ.), B (D.) ins. ī bef. aharūv'.

¹² B (D.) aharūv'; A (DJ.) aharūvīnīh, or aharūv-gunīh; or, is it possibly aharūv-gunīg?

¹³ A (DJ.) and E (M.) yazōm; NB, while B (D.), and D (K⁵ (Sp.)) have yezbex-. ¹⁴ B (D.) ins. ī bef. mayā. ¹⁵ B (D.) ins. ī aft. -dāt'.

¹⁶ A (DJ.) and E (M.) yazōm.

¹⁷ B (D.) ins. ī aft. -ratakīh.

¹⁸ A (DJ.) ins. ī aft. -dāt'.

¹⁹ B (D.), and C (the parsi-pers.) aharūv'; A (DJ.). -vīnīh, or it is -vīnīg? B (D.) ins. ī aft. aharūv'.

²⁰ B (D.) continues full up to stāyēm. C (the parsi-pers.) om. cēgōn, etc. up to vad inclusive, but has instead the extended passage referred to in the words. ²¹ A (DJ.) om. va bef. xvēsh-.

²² A (DJ.) xvēshēnam. not -nēm as D (K⁵ (Sp.)).

²³ A (DJ.) ins. ī bef. mǎnī-.

²⁴ B (D.) ins. va bef. vīs-; A (DJ.) may more likely have the ' (-o (sic)) or va?

²⁵ B (D.) ins. va bef. zandīg-; A (DJ.) more likely the ' formerly deciphered 'o', or it may have 'va.'

²⁶ A (DJ.) om. va aft. zand-; A (DJ.) has the ' (-o (sic)), or va.

²⁷ So A (DJ.) matāyigān', or matāīgān'. D (K⁵ (Sp.)) dehīgān', or is it dēsīgān'; B (D.) dēhīgān'.

²⁸ So A (DJ.); B (D.) has a well defined 'k,' or possibly an 'ō' (sic) of Persian form; so zarātūshtrōktūman'; the 'k' shows a former separation in writing between the zarātūshtrō- and -tūmān'; E (M.) has zarātūshtratūmān'. ²⁹ A (DJ.) om. va bef. harvisp'; not so B (D.).

aharūv' yazat' yezbexūnam,¹ va' harvisp' zag ī² aharāyih rat' yazōm'

(74) pavan hāvan' madam ratih pavan³ sāvang vīsic ī⁴ madam ratih va' rat' ī⁵ harvisp' mas madam ratih.

¹ A (DJ.) yazōm. ² B (D.) ins. va bef. last harvisp' ; not so A (DJ.).

³ A (DJ.) om. ī bef. aharāyih ; not so B (D.).

⁴ So E (M.) yazom for yazōm ; and A (DJ.) yazōm ; D (K⁵ (Sp.)), B (D.) yezbexūnam.

⁵ A (DJ.) ins. pavan ; D (K⁵ (Sp.)), B (D.), and C (the parsi-pers.) om. pavan. B (D.) has va in place of pavan bef. sāvang ; not so A (DJ.) .

⁶ B (D.) om. ī bef. madam ; not so A (DJ.) wh. has it.

⁷ B (D.) C ins. va bef. rat' ; not so A (DJ.).

⁸ B (D.) ins. ī bef. harvisp' ; not so A (DJ.)

The Magi in Marco Polo and the Cities in Persia from which they came to worship the Infant Christ.—By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

LEGENDS connected with the Adoration of the Infant Jesus by the Wise Men from the East and the Manifestation of Christ ***** the Gentiles have a very general interest. Tradition is persistent in repeating the idea that the 'kings of the Orient' were Zoroastrians (see my *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 97-98, and Bishop Casartelli, *The Magi: a Footnote to Matthew ii. 1*, in *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1902, p. 8). The Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy (3. 1) even says they came in accordance with a prophecy of Zoroaster, which thus met with fulfilment; and a majority of the Church Fathers agree in regarding Persia as the native country of the Wise Men, without expressly locating their place of origin.¹ A legend is preserved by Marco Polo about the Magi and the three places in Persia from which they came to worship Christ. The story may be familiar to special students of the great Venetian's travels, but it is not generally known to the student of Zoroastrian tradition and Biblical lore. For that reason I wish here to call attention to it and to add some words of comment, especially from the Iranian side.

In speaking of the Magi and their pious journey, Marco Polo mentions the names of three places in Persia from which these 'kings' were supposed to have come.² For convenience I shall quote the passage in the translation by Sir Henry Yule, *Marco Polo*, 3 ed. i. 78, London, 1903. It reads as follows:

'In Persia is the city of Saba from which the Three Magi set out when they went to worship Jesus Christ; and in this city they are buried, in three very large and beautiful monuments, side by side. And above them there is a square building, carefully kept. The bodies

¹ This statement is supported by a careful examination of Migne's *Patrologia* by my pupil, Justin Hartley Moore.

² They were probably Zoroastrian priests, not kings. See Casartelli, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

are still entire, with the hair and beard remaining. One of these was called Jaspar, the second Melchior, and the third Balthasar. Messer Marco Polo asked a great many questions of the people of that city as to those Three Magi, but never one could he find that knew aught of the matter, except that these were three kings who were buried there in days of old. However, at a place three days' journey distant he heard what I am going to tell you. He found a village there which goes by the name of Cala Ataperistan, which is as much as to say "The Castle of the Fire-Worshippers." And the name is rightly applied, for the people there do worship fire.'

Marco Polo next gives, at considerable length, a miraculous account of the details of the visit to the Christ-child, the wonders which the Magi saw, and the prodigies they witnessed on their journey homeward. In concluding his description the Venetian traveller repeats once more the names of the cities by way of résumé, connecting the fire-worship of the kings especially with Ataperistan, whose inhabitants had preserved the legend :

'Such then was the story told by the people of that Castle to Messer Marco Polo; they declared to him for a truth that such was their history, and that one of the three kings was of the city called Saba, the second of Ava, and the third of that very Castle where they still worship fire, with the people of all the country round.'

It has long been recognized that the names 'Saba' and 'Ava' of Marco Polo are probably to be identified with Savah, some fifty miles southwest of Tehran, and with Avah, a village about sixteen miles southeast of Savah.¹ The third city salled 'Cala Ataperistan' by the Venetian traveller and said to be 'three days' journey' from Saba, has not been identified, although Marco Polo is correct in his statement that the name means 'Castle of the Fire-Worshippers,' for it represents the Persian *Kalah-i Ātašparastān*. The question of the location and identity of the place had a special attraction for me when I met with the legend, because I made the journey from Yezd to Tehran, two years ago, over the same route which Marco Polo had traversed in part on his way toward Yezd.

¹ See Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 81 n. 3, citing also the authority of Consul Keith Abbott, JRGS. xxv. pp. 1-8 (1849). Abbott did not personally visit Avah, but he was told that there was a mound there on which a Gabar castle formerly stood. At Savah he could find no trace of the legend itself.

The difficulties connected with the identification of 'Ataperistan' are many.¹ The term *Kalah-i Ātašparastān* 'Castle of the Fire-Worshippers,' like the similar title *Kalah-i Gabrān*, 'Castle of the Gabars,' is an old designation applied in general to any stronghold which may date back to the fire-worshipping days of Zoroastrian Persia. Owing to the comparative frequency of the designation, it is difficult, but perhaps not impossible, to determine which particular Castle may have been intended by Marco Polo.

On his route toward Yezd there is a town called Na'in situated about two hundred and thirty miles from Savah. I was particularly struck by the evident antiquity of this place when I passed through it on Marco Polo's trail. 'Its ancient fort is known as Kala-i-Gabr, and even the *kanāts* bear Zoroastrian names,' according to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 107. The suggestion might be made that in this Castle of the Fire-Worshippers we are to seek for Marco's 'Cala Ataperistan.' An objection to this would be that the distance from Savah to Na'in could hardly have been accomplished in 'three days,' unless by very forced marches or under quite different conditions from what I found. It took me nearly five days, pressing hard, to cover the distance. On the other hand, it may be urged that we are not to take Marco Polo's 'three days' too exactly. Colonel Yule implies as much in his comments upon the passage. In any case it is worth while to mention the town of Na'in as a possible suggestion, because no consideration has previously been given to it in this connection.

More worthy of attention, however, is the suggestion I am about to make regarding Kashan. Travelling from Savah in the direction of Yezd would have brought Marco in 'three days,' at the ordinary rate of travel in Persia, about to the region of Kashan. Four days were allotted to the reverse journey, from Kashan to Savah, by Josafa Barbaro, who went as an envoy over this route in the latter part of the fifteenth century (see the English translation of his travels, *Hakluyt Society*, vol. xlix. p. 72, London, 1873). The Italian friar Odoric of Pordenone, who journeyed the same way about

¹ On the difficulties, especially as to the statement regarding the number of the days, etc., see Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 82 n.

1320, a generation later than Marco, expressly calls Kashan, or 'Cassan as he spells it, 'the city of the Three Kings,' and states that these worshippers set out from there to Jerusalem. See Cordier, *Odoric de Pordenone*, p. 41. The passage reads as follows:

'De la cité de Cassan. De ceste cité m'en alay vers la grant Inde par mer. Si vins par maintes journées à une cité des trois roys qui firent offrande à Jhesu Crist nouvel né. Et appelle on ceste cité de Cassan, cité royal de grant honneur mais Tartre l' ont moult destruite. De cette cité de Cassan jusques en Jherusalem a plus de L journées dont on peut clerement appercevoir que ly troy Roy qui de ceste cité de Cassan furent en xiii journées amené en Jherusalem per vertu divine et non humaine.'

Despite the fact that the name 'Cassan' (Kashan) is four times repeated, some scholars are disposed to regard it as a scribal error for Saba, especially as the latter name occurs in Remusio's collection and in the Palatine Manuscript.¹ Cassan (Kashan) is the correct reading, I believe, and I think this city represents at least the region of Marco Polo's 'Castle of the Fire-Worshippers.' I am the more inclined to this view because Gabarabād (lit. 'Gabar Town'), about twenty miles distant from Kashan on the Isfahan road, although now a deserted place, shows by its name that there was a settlement of fire-worshippers in the vicinity, and there are ruins of a magnificent caravansarai (Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i. 232). Kashan existed in the time of the last Zoroastrian monarch, Yazdagard III, for it is mentioned with Kum as having furnished a quota of 20,000 soldiers to the army of that unfortunate king (Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 12; Ouseley, *Persia*, iii. 3, n. 3 and p. 100). There are, moreover, some Zoroastrians in Kashan to-day. The statistics which I gathered in Persia show that about forty-five of these Gabars are doing business in this city.

In any case I believe that the tradition of Kashan or its vicinity as the possible location of the third city from which the Magi came should receive more consideration than it has had from those interested in both Friar Odoric and Marco Polo. I regret that I was not acquainted with the legend at the time

¹ See Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 81; Cordier, *Odoric*, pp. xcv and 41. Cordier, in his note, p. 23, argues in favor of Saba, but he admits that Kashan was sacked by the Mongols in 1224.

when I was in Kashan, for I should have made inquiry to see whether it has been preserved down to the present time.

Regarding the source of the legend itself, other scholars have shown, and among them Lord Curzon, *Persia*, ii. p. 6, note, that it would be difficult to prove it to be of Persian origin. It may owe its existence to an association of Saba with the passage in the Psalms, lxxii. 10: 'the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts' (or according to the Prayer Book, 'the kings of Arabia and Saba'). The Hebrew has *S'ba* (שְׁבָא); the Septuagint, βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων καὶ Σαβᾶ; and the Vulgate, *reges Arabum et Saba*. More pertinent still is Isaiah lx. 6, where Ephah (Ava) and Saba (Sheba) stand side by side and are mentioned in connection with gold and frankincense, and hence possibly associated with Avah and Savah. As for the claims of Saba itself to be the burial place of the Three Kings, as Marco Polo describes, I may only say that it has a rival at Urumiah, where I saw the tomb of at least two of the Magi in the old Nestorian church of Mart Miriam; to say nothing of the cathedral of Cologne on the Rhine, where their bodies are said to be interred!

Problems still unsolved in Indo-Aryan Cosmology.—By
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To a greater extent than has been generally acknowledged Babylonian cosmology is the key to an understanding of the Indo-Aryan. In proof of this statement the student is invited to spread out before him the diagram of the Babylonian cosmos printed in the twenty-third volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (opposite p. 388), and to note the following remarkable correspondences:

1. Like the "Upper E-KUR," in that diagram, the Sumeru of the Indo-Aryans is a *mons montium*, a true "Weltberg."

2. In both cosmological systems this Weltberg is at the same time *par excellence* the possession of the gods, a Götterberg.

3. In both this Götterberg is not only divinely vast and beautiful, but also, in shape, quadrangular.

4. In both the axis of the heavens and of the earth is perpendicular in position, and consequently the top of the quadrangular Götterberg is the true summit of the earth.

5. In both this crowning summit of the earth has an antipodal counterpart in a corresponding inverted Weltberg underneath the earth. The name of this in the Indo-Aryan system is Ku-meru.¹ In Chaldæa this peculiar conception seems to have been of pre-Semitic antiquity. One of the first of Western scholars to recognize the parallelism and something of its significance for Comparative Cosmology was Lenormant, who a generation ago wrote as follows: "Dans les conceptions de la cosmologie mythique des Indiens on oppose au Sou-Merou, 'le bon Merou' du nord, un Kou-Merou mauvais et funest, qui y fait exactement un pendant et en est l'antithèse. De même les Chaldéens opposaient à la divine et bienheureuse montagne de l'Orient (accadien *'garsag-babbarra*=assyrien *šad ʿit šamši*) une montagne funeste et ténébreuse (accadien *'garsag-gigga*=assyrien *šad erib šamši*), située dans les parties basses de la terre."—*Origines de l'Histoire*, tom. ii. 1, p. 134.

¹ [Meru and Sumeru are forms found in Sanskrit literature; Kumeru is still *unbelegt*, though the conception of the antipodal mount is Puranic.—Ed.]

6. In the Babylonian cosmos the upper *hemi-gæa* has seven stages; in the Indo-Aryan it has seven varṣas.

7. In the Babylonian system the lower or inverted *hemi-gæa* has seven stages; in the Indo-Aryan it has seven pātālas.

8. West of Babylonia is found the Hebrew conception of a quadrifurcate river of Paradise which flowed forth in opposite directions to water the four quarters of the pristine earth. East of Babylonia is found the Indo-Aryan conception of the Gaṅgā-stream which, descending from heaven to the top of Sumeru, there divides itself, according to the Vishnu Purāṇa, into four world-rivers, and descending the several sides of the mountain from varṣa to varṣa waters the whole earth. It is hardly possible to doubt that in both cases the conception was borrowed from the world-view of the people residing midway between the Hebrews on the one side and the Indo-Aryans on the other, or was at least common to the three.¹

9. In the Indo-Aryan, as in the Babylonian world-view, the seven divisions of the lower or inverted *hemi-gæa* can be described (as they are in the Mahā-Bhārata) as *subterranean*, and yet, at the same time, as *capable of receiving light from the sun and moon*. Our diagram clearly shows both the possibility and the entire naturalness of this.

10. In the Babylonian conception the upper or northern planetary *hemi-ouranoi* were seven in number, and each of them, in receding order away from the Weltberg, was located at an increasing interval or distance; so is it also in the Indo-Aryan cosmos.

11. According to the Babylonians, the under or southern planetary *hemi-uranoi* were also seven in number, and these, numbering from their center, were located at ever wider distances asunder; so is it also with the dvīpas in the Indo-Aryan cosmos.

12. In Babylonian thought each of the celestial spheres was assigned to the guardianship and government of a particular divine being; so was also each dvīpa in Indo-Aryan thought. (See Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 162.)

¹ T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of Historic Records*, etc., 2d ed. 1903, pages 71-73. Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1904, pages 102-104. F. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, p. 326 ff.

13. In the Babylonian cosmos the lower *hemi-ouranoi* are, as a group, below the seven stages of the lower *hemi-gaea*; in like manner in the Indo-Aryan, the *Narakas* are, as a group, below the *Pātālas*. (Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 207.)¹

14. At the same time, in the Babylonian system the regions included in the inverted *hemi-ouranoi* and those included in the inverted *hemi-gaea* slightly overlap. All the requirements of the system imply that the same was true in the Indo-Aryan. This feature also helps us to understand why the texts, and thus far their Occidental interpreters, present no clear and sharp distinction between the two groups as to nature or location. Possibly a similar slight overlapping may explain the failure of Egyptologists to make between *Tuat* and *Amentet* the distinction clearly implied in certain passages of the most ancient texts. See Budge's *Book of the Dead*, 1901, chap. lxiv, vol. i, p. 211.

15. In the Indo-Aryan as in the Babylonian system the lowest hells are antipodal to the highest heavens; hence the statement in the Vishnu Purāṇa (Wilson, p. 209): "The gods in heaven are beheld by the inhabitants of hell as they move *with their heads inverted*." In the Jain Sūtras also persons in hell are represented as moving about with their "heads downwards." (SBE. xlv. p. 279.) Even in Plutarch the same ancient idea survives.²

16. In both systems the diurnal movement of the sun is in a horizontal instead of a vertical plane, and night's darkness is caused simply by the passage of the sun around the farther side

¹ We may be the more certain that in the Indo-Aryan cosmos the *Narakas* were the lower or infernal *hemi-ouranoi* from two striking facts: (1). The fact that in the downward direction the distances of the *Narakas* from each other increase in an arithmetical ratio just as do the distances of the heavens in the opposite direction. (2). The fact that the normal term of life in these successive infernal abodes grows longer and longer according to distance from the cosmic center precisely as is the case in the successive celestial abodes. I have never found any text that gave such a representation of the *Pātālas*.

² "They [the virtuous] see the ghosts of people there turned upside down and as it were descending into the abyss." *On the Face in the Orb of the Moon*. Section 28.—That the Greek astronomers derived their conception of the mutually antipodal $\chi\theta\omega\nu$ and $\alpha\nu\tau\chi\theta\omega\nu$ from the ancient Babylonians has long been clear to me. The *Chthōn* was simply the Upper E-KUR, the *Anti-chthōn* the inverted Lower E-KUR.

of the Weltberg. According to Maspero, the same apparent paradox as to the sun's motion was held and taught by the most ancient Egyptians as well as by the most ancient Chaldæans. (*Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. ed., p. 544.)

17. In both systems a cross-section of the cosmos in the plane of the equator would show seven solid horizontal world-rings, one within another, and all of them inclosing their common center. Here, possibly, was the origin of the "world-rings of rock" separated by seven intervening seas in the common description of the Buddhist world-view. It should be remembered, however, that in the Buddhist cosmography the tops of these world-rings are by no means in a common plane.

18. In both systems the order of the seven planets is not that of the matured Greek teaching of Ptolemy, but is conformed to the older Babylonian view, according to which both sun and moon are nearer to the earth than the nearest of the remaining five.

19. Precisely as in Babylonian thought the sphere of the fixed stars is far above, beneath, and beyond the seven concentric planetary globes, so in the Indo-Aryan is found, far above, beneath, and beyond the earth and all the Deva-lokas, the all-including shell of Brahman's cosmic egg.

20. Finally, as in the Babylonian, so in the Indo-Aryan cosmos, there is present and visible to every eye that most wonderful of all monuments of prehistoric astronomic science, the starry world-girdle of the twelve-signed Zodiac, attesting in both peoples a clear recognition of the great circles and the poles of the ecliptically defined celestial sphere.

In the beginning of European investigations into the astronomical and geographic ideas encountered in Sanskrit literature one of the most important of questions was this: Was the cosmological system of the Indo-Aryans of indigenous origin, or was it in its fundamentals due to Babylonian influence? In view of the twenty correspondences above enumerated it may safely be affirmed that this question is now answered.¹ As is

¹ As long ago as in the year 1890 Professor Jensen could write of the origin of the cosmic system of the Indians as follows: "Dass diese Anschauung nicht aus Persien, sondern direct oder indirect aus Babylonien stammt, zeigt die weit grössere Gleichartigkeit der babylogischen und indischen als die der persischen und indischen Ideen." *Kosmologie*, p. 184.

usual, however, in similar cases, the determination of the historic fact has immediately started a multitude of new questions relative to the time, manner, cause and meaning of the fact. These constitute so many challenges to the young on-coming scholars of a new century.

Among the problems yet unsolved in this field, one of the most interesting and important is whether, *in the beginning*, the seven dvīpas were really supposed to be continental "rings," horizontal in position. In some late documents they appear to be so represented, and yet there seems also to be some evidence going to show that in a prehistoric period the authors of Indian cosmology on the East, like Pythagoras and succeeding astronomers of Greece on the West,¹ borrowed from the Babylonians the idea of seven concentric globes, "crystalline spheres," presided over respectively by the seven planetary divinities.²

For example, such treatises as the Sūrya-Siddhānta pronounce the first in the order of the dvīpas a globe. But if the dvīpa that in all enumerations is the first of all and the most central of all was a globe, it is a natural *a priori* expectation that the remaining six members of the class will be found to be, or once to have been, globes also.

Again, if in the beginning the series consisted of seven concentric crystalline spheres, like the Babylonian, the second of them, Plakṣa, would correspond to the Babylonian lunar sphere, the globe of the moon-god Sin. Like that it would be conceived of as perfectly transparent, and hence like the others invisible.

¹ "Pythagoras apud Chaldaeos conversatus est."—Diogenes Laert, *De Vitis Philos.*, lib. viii. c. 1.

² [There is no objection to the assumption that the rather late literature cited below in support of this hypothesis may contain elements much older than the present texts: but both the Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Vishnu Purāṇa are so full of ideas foreign to early Hindu conceptions as greatly to invalidate their testimony in evidence of what was original or borrowed "in a prehistoric period." The Sūrya-Siddhānta may be referred to c. 300 A. D.; the Vishnu Purāṇa, in its present form, to c. 400; though a list of eighteen Purāṇas was probably known before that. At most, however, the cosmography of these works, as of the Mahābhārata, can be utilized for historical purposes only with the understanding that the data belong in all probability to a time subsequent to the Christian era. Thus in section eight (above), the conception of a four-fold division of Gaṅgā is a Puranic modification of the earlier three-fold (divided) Gaṅgā.—Ed.]

The *visible* lunar disc would doubtless be thought of, as it was in Babylonia, as the moon-god's "Ship of Light," the vehicle in which in sacred state he made his nightly journeys round and round upon his spacious earth-inclosing sphere, lighting at the same time the central world of men within. In Babylonian thought the only natural passages into or out of this earth-enclosing lunar sphere were one through a north polar gate on the "Way of Anu," and one through a south polar gate on the "Way of Ea." Three items almost seem to imply that the original conception of Plakṣa was in correspondence with this.

First, while in the Vishnu Purāṇa Vishnu is naturally represented as worshipped in all the dvīpas below Brahman's, he is said to be worshipped in Plakṣa in the form or person of Soma, the moon.

Second, in the account of the descent of Gaṅgā from the throne of Vishnu in the north polar heavens, the celestial stream is represented as falling on and "washing the lunar orb" before it reaches the top of Meru at the north pole of the earth. (Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 170 and 228.) Of course the only lunar orb that the celestial waters in making this direct descent at the pole could possibly encounter and wash would be one overarching the whole northern hemisphere of the earth, precisely as did the globe of the moon-god Sin.

Third, the Southern Buddhists, in some of their texts, almost seem to have retained an older Hindu idea of the same kind, for it is said of Yugandhara, the dvīpa which in their system corresponds to Plakṣa: "The region of Yugandhara covers, as a vaulted cope, the whole of these divisions." (Edward Upham, *History and Doctrines of Buddhism*, p. 77.¹) Speaking from any standpoint on the surface of E-KUR this would perfectly apply to the globe of Sin.

That the remaining (the extra-lunar) dvīpas were originally globes, and not annular discs, seems almost implied in the fact that according to the Purāṇas each, with the exception of the outermost, had divisions of its surface corresponding in number

¹ Of the value of the text thus rendered by Upham or of the correctness of the rendering, the present writer has no means of forming an opinion, but it may at least be said that Dr. Upham had no discoverable inducement to attempt to represent Yugandhara as a globe.

and apparently in form with those of the spherical Jambudvīpa. This could not be the case were the dvīpas merely annular discs. Furthermore, in the description of them given to Dr. Edward Upham by the Buddhist high priest of Ceylon, their undersides are represented as corresponding to the upper, which would imply antipodal regions similar in outline and equal in extent to the regions belonging to the upper or north polar half of the cosmos as a whole (*loc. cit.* p. 86). Finally, in a prize essay printed in the Asiatic Researches in 1849, Babu Shome, a native Indian teacher, closes a description of the dvīpas as follows: "The seven divisions [varṣas] in each of the continents [dyīpas] are separated by seven chains of mountains, and seven rivers, lying breadthways, and placed at such inclination in respect to one another, that if a straight line be drawn through any chain of mountains or rivers on the other continents and produced toward the central isle it would meet the center of the earth." These terms certainly seem to imply, not only that the dvīpas were concentric globes, but also that the varṣas of each, and the pātālas of each, and the mountain ridges by which in each the varṣas and pātālas were respectively bounded, were all in such perfect correspondence in the system that a right line in any direction from the center point of the earth would, if sufficiently produced, pass through an identically shaped varṣa or pātāla, or an identically placed mountain range, in each of seven concentric spheres. Babu Shome does not give his textual authority, but, though a Christian convert, he was in constant touch with the chief Brahmin teachers of Calcutta in his time. Surely the authorship and the warrant of so incomparably elaborate and beautiful a world-concept as this calls for an early and exhaustive investigation.¹

¹ In the Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu (SBE. vol. xxii. pp. 227-229). Hariṇegamesi is represented as flying "*upwards*" in a straight line from Jambudvīpa to the heavenly council-chamber and throne-room of Śakra, yet as passing on his way "*right through numberless continents and oceans.*" His previous descent from Śakra's heaven was also "*right through numberless continents and oceans.*" Neither of these representations is at all compatible with Indian cosmology as commonly interpreted. On the other hand, once conceive of the dvīpas as originally concentric globes, and allow for an exaggeration merely in the number, and the representations perfectly fit the requirements of the world-view.

Another problem which still awaits solution is the following: When, where, and under what influences in the development of the Buddhist form of the Indo-Aryan cosmology did the term Jambudvīpa cease to designate the central one of all the spheres and come to mean merely one of four diversely shaped, but symmetrically located, islands far out in the outermost of the seven world-seas? The "nebular hypothesis" may explain how an *outermost* revolving ring may break up and gather itself together into a planetary mass, but who can tell us when, where, and how this central Jambudvīpa got itself first plucked out of the center of the total cosmic system, then contracted to the dimensions of the Buddhists' triangular isle, and finally towed out and anchored in the world-engirdling sea? One's first thought is that this revolution in cosmological thought must have taken place in consequence of the transference of the center of Buddhist consciousness from continental India to insular Ceylon; but even this consideration fails to relieve the utter unthinkable-ness of the change that crowded six or seven enormously extended world-rings and world-seas into the narrow space between Ceylon and the Asian mainland.

A further problem remains, the investigation of which cannot fail to throw light upon the one just mentioned. It relates to the cosmology of the Jains. It asks: Wherein at the beginning did the Jain cosmology agree with, and wherein differ from, that presented in the Epic and Puranic texts? When and why did it take on the modifications which now differentiate it from the traditional teaching of the modern Brahmins on the one hand and from the Buddhist cosmology on the other?

These questions have not yet received the attention they deserve. Of one of the most important of the texts affording data for their solution Weber had nothing more or better to say than that it contains "nur mythische Phantastereien." (*Indische Studien*, xvi, 390.) Even Professor Thibaut, in his excellent work on the astronomical and related ideas of India, makes no effort to trace the origin or significance of that strange doctrine of the earth's two suns and two moons found in the Jain astronomies (as it was also in the teaching of some of the Greek astronomers),¹ but dismisses the whole subject with the cool

¹ "They (the Jains) similarly allot twice that number to the salt ocean, six times as many to Dhātuci Dvīpa, 21 times as many to the

remark that this peculiarity of the system is "ohne Belang" (*Grundriss*, iii. 22).

Other peculiarities of the Jain cosmology well deserve investigation both by themselves and according to comparative methods. Such, for example, is the enumeration of the Canda-dīva and the Sūra-dīva in due order after Jambuddīva, and yet the making of Dhāyaśaṇḍa, beyond the Lavaṇa sea, the second in the normal series of the dvīpas. Another is the bringing down of Puṣkara from the seventh place in the original series to the third, and the new definition of the Maṇussa-Khetta connected therewith. (E. Leumann, *Indische Studien*, xvi. 390-392).

Possibly we may never obtain the data required for the solution of the several problems mentioned in the foregoing paper. It is encouraging, however, to remember that in every field of knowledge the clear formulation of the questions next needing to be attacked often proves to be a most helpful preliminary to new discoveries.

Cālōdadhi, and 72 of each to Pushkara Dvīpa." F. Buchanan, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 322. According to Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 20 and 22, footnote, they also locate the moon eighty yojanas above the sun instead of one yojana below it.

To section 13, above, p. 86: It may be added that the Rabbinical conception of two south-polar Gehennas (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, p. 328f.), the one terrestrial and the other celestial (the two exactly answering to two north-polar Paradises, one terrestrial and the other celestial) is clearly a survival of the ancient Babylonian idea. Brief citations may be seen in Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 1904, i. 273 f. The terrestrial Gehenna perfectly corresponds to the Indian Pātālas as above interpreted, the celestial to the Narakas.



THE PIERPONT MORGAN BABYLONIAN AXE-HEAD.

The Pierpont Morgan Babylonian Axe-head.—By Professor
J. DYNELEY PRINCE, of Columbia University, and the
Rev. ROBERT LAU.

IN the Tiffany collection of gems belonging to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City is a remarkably perfect and very ancient Babylonian axe-head of pure agate. This object was originally obtained by Cardinal Borgia while at the head of the Propaganda and was subsequently offered by the Countess Ettore Borgia to the British Museum for sale, whence it was returned to her owing to the Museum's inability to purchase it at that time. It was then acquired by Count Michel Tyskiewicz, who kept it until his death, when it was purchased by Mr. George Kunz of Tiffany & Co. of New York, by whom it was added to the Tiffany collection which was later purchased and presented to the American Museum of Natural History by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Other articles on this subject will appear in the *American Museum Journal*, 1905.

The axe-head is interesting, not only because of its beauty as an artistic production, which undoubtedly entitles it to its very prominent position in this unique collection of gems and rare coins, but also because of the inscription in archaic Babylonian characters, with which its obverse side is embellished. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and of Dr. Bumpus and Dr. Gratacap of the American Museum of Natural History, we are enabled to present this discussion as to the probable age of the object, the determining of which depends both on the nature of the inscription and on the character of the agate of which the axe-head is made.

The dimensions of the Morgan axe-head are as follows: Length, 13.7 cm.; width over the handle-perforation, 3 cm.; length of the back, 1.7 cm.; width of the back, 1.9 cm.; diameter of the handle-perforation, 0.9 cm.

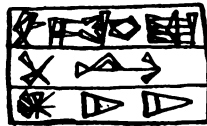
There can be no doubt that the axe-head was a votive presentation to some temple in Babylonia. It is unfortunate that the place where it was excavated is not known, as in that case much might be learned regarding the date of the object, which now depends entirely on deduction. This is not unique as a votive

axe. A fragment of a similar axe in imitation of lapis lazuli ($6.75 \times 4.25 \times 1.5$) was found at Nippur in Southern Babylonia by the recent American expedition to that site. This Nippur axe has an inscription of seven lines which may be transliterated and translated as follows:

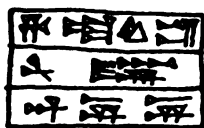
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. -ni-šu | 'his |
| 2. (Na-zi-)ma-ru-ut-taš | Nazimaruttash |
| 3. nu | |
| 4. šu | his..... |
| 5. (apal Ku-)ri-gal-zu | the son of Kurigalzu |
| 6. (iq-ri)-bi-šu a-na še-me-e | for hearing his prayers |
| 7. (āmi-i) šu-ur-ru-ki | (and) lengthening his days
(has given).' |

For the Babylonian text alone, see Hilprecht, OBI. i, pt. ii., plate 61, nr. 136. The king Nazimaruttash (*ca.* 1340 B. C.), the son of Kurigalzu II. (*ca.* 1350 B. C.), was evidently the donor of this Nippur axe-head to the temple of some god whose name is mutilated. The inscription shows how the gift of the object was thought to be an inducement to the god to look favorably on the donor and "hear his prayers (and) prolong his days." This axe-head was found at Nippur in a chamber on the edge of the canal outside the great south-east wall. It is evident therefore that, although this Nippur axe-head is far inferior from the point of view of pure art to the Morgan axe-head, the former object is more valuable from an archaeological point of view, as we possess the exact data regarding it and are able to determine its age with absolute accuracy. It is clear, however, that we must expect an inscription of similar import on the Morgan axe-head, which was plainly an object intended to serve the same purpose as that of the Nippur axe.

The text on the Morgan axe-head consists of three lines very carefully carved inside of a regular cartouche as follows:



This may be transliterated into the later cuneiform text as follows:



This may be transliterated and translated as follows:

1. *Xa-at-ti-iš* 'Khattish
2. *ašārid* the chief person (favorite)
3. *ilāni* of the gods (presented it).'

It is clear that the first line shows a proper name, in spite of the absence of the customary upright determinative, usually preceding proper names. This omission is paralleled, *op. cit.*, plate 51, nr. 121 line 4: the king's name *Ur-(ibu)-Ba'u*; *op. cit.*, plate 36, nr. 86, line 2: the king's name *Lugalkigubnidūdu*, etc., etc. There is no exact parallel to the name Khattish, which is probably not that of a king, but that of a high official at some early Babylonian city-court, as the axe-head seems to antedate the unification of Babylonia under the hegemony of the city of Babylon under Hammurabi (2342-2288 B. C.). It should be noted, however, that the name *Xa-aš-ra-mi-ir* occurs I R. 1, i. nr. 10, as that of a ruler (*patesi*) of the city of *Iš(?) - ku-un-Sin*. This name *Xašramir* seems to be a name of the same general character as *Xa-at-ti-iš* (see for *Xašramir*, Radau, *Early Bab. History*, p. 30, note). The two signs which we translate *ašāridū* 'chief person,' occur in this sense, V. 44, 36c, referring to the god *Ninib* as the *ašāridū*. The usual ideogram for this word is SAG-KAL and not our combination PAP-ŠEŠ, which is very rare. The last line presents no difficulty, as the three signs AN-NI-NI can only be the ideogram for *ilāni* 'gods.' It is clear that the Sumerian equivalent of the verb *iqiš* 'he presented (it)' must be understood as the grammatical complement to the inscription, which is complete and shows no traces of mutilation.

The characters of this inscription are very antique, approaching in form more closely those of the Gudea period (*ca.* 3000 B. C.) than those of a later date. On the other hand, the dated documents from the time of Gudea show a slightly more linear and less wedge-shaped character than do the signs on the Morgan axe, where the wedge is beginning to appear, which leads

us to the opinion that the inscription may date between Gudea's time and that of Hammurabi (2342-2288 B. C.), when the wedge was even more prominent than we see it on the Morgan axe-head. The objection may perhaps be raised that we have here a piece of much later work, with the inscription deliberately written in archaic characters after the style of some of the documents of Nebuchadnezzar II. (640-562 B. C.), who caused inscriptions to be written in imitation of the early Babylonian writing. This does not seem probable to us, owing to the general character of the signs in question, which are too naturally cut to admit of this supposition. Deliberate archaization would, we think, have produced a somewhat more clearly cut inscription and also one in which the linear tendency would not be so well marked as we have it here.

The stone is distinctly agate in layers, not agate with circular or ring-like marking, which would militate against a very ancient date for the object. The appearance of the *layers*, however, does not preclude the date which we suppose for the Morgan axe-head, i. e., between 3000 B. C. and 2300 B. C., probably nearer the former than the latter date.

ADDENDUM.—Since the appearance of this paper, a discussion of this axe-head has been published by George F. Kunz in the *Bulletin of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.*, xxi. 37-47, with translation by I. M. Price; and in *AJSL*, xxi. 173-178, by I. M. Price. Professor Price's rendering differs from ours in two important particulars. He reads line 1: XA-AD-DUG-IŠ, and renders it either as *duppu* AD-DUG-IŠ 'the inscription of A.,' or alternatively, he translates XA as meaning 'axe-head,' reasoning from the equation, Br. 11822: TAK-XA=*aban-nāni* 'fish-stone,' whence he deduces that XA alone, without any stone-determinative, may mean 'axe-head'! It should be noted that the usual ideograms for *duppu* 'tablet, inscription' are DUB and IM and only once XA; and that his other deduction, that XA='axe-head,' is on its face highly improbable, because any Babylonian seeing the sign XA alone would immediately have understood it to mean 'fish,' which can have no connection with the concept 'axe-head.' Furthermore the occurrence in correct vocalic and consonantal order of the four signs XA-AT-

TI-IŠ makes it most likely that they formed the phonetic parts of the name *Xa-at-ti-iš*, as we have rendered it. To read *Xa-ad-dug-iš* or *Ad-dug-iš* with the non-harmonic value *dug* for the XI-TI-DUG sign is not advisable, as the *ti*-value is plainly indicated by the following undoubted IŠ-sign. It seems to us more reasonable to follow the lines of least resistance in such work as this.

In line 3, Professor Price reads in a corner wedge after the sign AN, and translates the line: AN-U-NI-NI=*ilu Šamaš barāšu* '(dedicated) to the god Šamaš his benefactor.' In our collation of the text, we regard this possible corner wedge to be a mere discoloration of the stone, of which there are several of this circular form both on the obverse and reverse, although not in the inscribed cartouche. If, however, Price is right in his rendering, the third line may be read as follows:

AN-U-NI-NI=*ilu Bēl, Gibil, Nūsku* (or) *Šamaš ilišu*
'(of) the god B., G., N. or Š. his god.'

The corner wedge preceded by the god-sign may mean any of the above named deities, while NI-NI could mean *ili-šu* 'his god' (NI=*ili*, Sa. i. 21). Of course in this case the final NI would indicate the suffix *-šu* 'his.' If NI-NI means *barā-šu*, as Price suggests, this would not mean 'his benefactor,' which would be *šākin šubarēšu*, but simply 'one who is satisfied' as *barā*='to be or become full or satiated.'

Assuming, then, that there really was a corner wedge in line 3, we would amend our translation to read as follows:

<i>Xa-at-ti-iš</i>	Xattis
<i>ašārid</i>	the chief person (favorite)
<i>Ilu Bēl, Gibil, Nūsku</i> (or)	of B., G., N., or Š. his god (has
<i>Šamaš ilišu</i>	given this).

These varying interpretations furnish a most excellent example of the extreme difficulty in deciding anything definite as to the exact meaning of such an inscription. Professor Price agrees essentially with us as to the probable date of the object.

*The Supposed Variant of AH. 82, 7-14, 1042. Where is it?
Its Probable Contents.*—By STEPHEN LANGDON, Fellow of
Columbia University.

IN volume x. of PSBA., the Rev. C. J. Ball published the text of a Neo-Babylonian cylinder of three columns, of 64, 78 and 59 lines. The same has been edited by Mr. Ball in PSBA. xi., and by Hugo Winckler in KB. iii. 2, pp. 46-53. It has been transcribed by David McGee in BA. iii. pp. 534-539. The same has been edited by the writer of this article in his first volume of *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*.

This cylinder belongs to what I call "redacted contemporaneous documents." That class of documents is peculiar to the Neo-Babylonian school of scribes and was developed by them out of the standard form of composing documents before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. This evolution under Nebuchadnezzar consisted in taking the old form short cylinder, which had four short sections, and developing it into a long redaction. Thus for example (I choose here for illustration those inscriptions which until the appearance of the book above mentioned are most accessible), the short two-columned cylinder of Nabopolassar, published page 6 of KB. iii. 2 has four sections: Col. I 1-4, the hymn of introduction, forms the first section; Col. I 5-9 is the second; and Col. I 10-II 14 is the third. This inscription lacks the prayer at the end which in all documents of the Neo-Babylonian empire up to the evolution of a new type of composition constitutes the fourth section. That is, the rule was to begin the main body of the inscription with the word *i-nu-ma* "when," and after a short passage to give the apodosis beginning *i-nu-mi-šu* "then." The principal account begins with *i-nu-mi-šu*, and gives the work which the king wishes to record. This kind of document is contemporaneous with the work described by the *i-nu-mi-šu* section.

But early in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after many works had been completed and many short contemporaneous documents written, there arose a desire among the scribes to produce

documents which were more in the nature of history. Thus, when a work was finished, the scribes took occasion to recite all the previous works of the king before giving account of the work which had just been finished. In doing this they adhered strictly to the ancient formula *i-nu-ma* and *i-nu-mi-šu*, but after the word "when" was inserted a long list of all the previous works of the king. This list of works was generally made up on the basis of all the previous short documents. That is, this long section is a great redaction which took different arrangements with different redactors. When the redaction was finished, the scribe came to his contemporaneous account, which he began after the old style with *i-nu-mi-šu*. The first document of this kind which was produced in the Neo-Babylonian school is the so-called Grotefend Inscription I R. 65. Among the most noteworthy documents of this class are V R. 34 and AH. 82, 7-14, 1042.

These two later inscriptions have for their principal contemporaneous accounts the building of two temples to Gula, the former of E-har-sag-el-la in Babylon, and the other of E-ul-la in Sippar. Of these AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 is much later and is a redaction of I R. 34. This latter document is the last known document of this class which we have from this school, for the scribes soon after its composition commenced a new form of document, the first exemplar of which is the Wady Brissa inscription, and the last the East India House inscription, which is the very last of all the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions. This literary development is discussed at length in the book mentioned above and the period of this king is divided into historical sections. It is therefore unnecessary to go further into the discussion of the literary movement of this period; suffice it only to say that the documents of the Redacted Contemporaneous class belong to the years 600 to 592 approximately.

In a document of this class, naturally the section of most interest begins with *i-nu-mi-šu*, and was so arranged as to commence near the top of the third column. If we now turn to AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 (KB. iii. 2., p. 50), we find the principal section beginning with line 13 of the third column. This cylinder is edited in PSBA. xi., pp. 195-218, by Mr. Ball. On page 196 he gives variants of a cylinder which he says is one of the same class, which was afterwards sold to America before he

had finished collating it. As this cylinder is of great importance for the study of the literary development of this period as well as for historical purposes, I propose to discuss the variants and new extracts given us by Mr. Ball, with the hope of finding some one who knows where the cylinder is, so that we may have a text of it at once.

In order to make the structure of this inscription clear, I give here the structure of AII. 82, 7-14, 1042, in order to have a ground of comparison for the scattered remnants which Mr. Ball has given us. The contents of this inscription are as follows:

- (a) I 1-22, Hymn of introduction.
- (b) I 23-42, Works in Esagila, viz. E-ku-a, Kaḫilisug, E-zi-da of Esagila and the zikkurat E-temin-anki; works on E-zida of Borsa, especially its shrine E-mah-til-la.
- (c) I 43-53, Works done for the small temples in Babylon, viz. E-mah, E-nin-had-kalam-sum-ma, E-giš-šir-gal, E-ḫar-sag-ella. E-nam-he, E-di-kud-kalama and E-kiku-garza.
- (d) I 54-II 18, Completion of Imgur-Bel and Nimiti-Bel, a third moat wall, a moat wall west of the city, the quays of the Euphrates and the Araḫtu canal.
- (e) II 19-24, Building an embankment along the Euphrates.
- (f) II 25-34, Building the Great Eastern Wall.
- (g) II 35-71, Works done in foreign cities, viz. at Borsa, Kutha, Sippar, Bas, Dilbat, Marāda, Erech, Larsa and Ur.
- (h) II 72-III 12, Secondary hymn.
- (i) III 14-51, Principal account; the rebuilding of E-ulla at Sippar to Gula.
- (j) III 52-58, Prayer to Gula.

In redacting previous documents the scribes of this school had one invariable rule; the works done on foreign cities had to come last before the principal section beginning with *i-nu-mi-šu*, separated from it only by a secondary hymn; these are generally the finest literary passages in the inscriptions. As to the arrangement of the other parts, each scribe had his own plan, as may be seen from the analyses of all the inscriptions of this period in chapter two of *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*. Now if we examine the arrangement of the American cylinder through the collation which Mr. Ball has given us, we may reconstruct a large part of it as follows

(the text not being published it is impossible to give the numbers of the lines):

- (a) equals AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 Col. I 1-23.
- (b) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 I 23-53.
- (c) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 25-34.
- (d) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 19-24.
- (e) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 I 54-II 18.
- (f) equals AH. 82, 7-14 1042 II 35-71.

The plan of this scribe was then to invert sections *e* and *f* of his model and then to place *d* in the last position before the list of works on foreign cities. Up to section *g* of the model there is no other change made by this redactor except this new arrangement of sections. But the section on foreign cities has several insertions.

When the redactor arrives at II 58 of his model, he continues his account of the work at Kutha by giving an account of a temple to the spouse of Nergal, Nin-ki-gal, who is otherwise called Laz. This temple Eš-uru-gal to Nin-ki-gal of Kutha is not found in the Wady Brissa inscription, the last one we have of Nebuchadnezzar, which gives an account of works done on foreign cities. The latest inscriptions of this king, 85, 4-30, 1¹ and East India House inscription, do not give any works of Nebuchadnezzar outside of Babylon and Borsā. The sole evidence, then, that we can deduce for the date is that it is after the Wady Brissa inscription, and consequently after 586 B.C., and belongs to the third or fourth period of the reign of this king (see chapter one on the history of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in the work cited above).

The next important insertion is at Col. II 59, in the account of the works of Sippar, where the American cylinder mentions the building of E-ulla, which forms the principal account of the model. Of course we are prepared to expect this insertion as soon as we learn that the cylinder is later than AH. 82, 7-14, 1042.

What is most striking about the American cylinder, so far as it is permitted us to know it, is that in place of the secondary hymn of the model, section *h*, it has an entirely new hymn as follows: "The great gods joyfully beheld me and blessed my

¹ See KB. iii, 2, p. 30, and BA. iii, 539-542.

reign. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who gladdens the heart of Marduk my lord, regardful of the sacred places of Nebo favorite of my reign, am I. Esagila and Ezida, habitations of their lordship, abode of their love, with gold and silver and jewels of great value, huge cedar beams (I clothed)."

Here the collation of Mr. Ball ends in the midst of the secondary hymn and just before the most important part of the inscription. According to my count of lines, the last line of Mr. Ball's collation must be nearly the thirtieth line of the third column. It is very rare to find the principal section so low down in the third column. The highest number which I know for any line beginning with *i-nu-mi-šu* in this class of documents is the twenty-seventh line of the third column of the Grotfend inscription. However, the principal section must begin very soon after this section published by Mr. Ball. That a section of this kind must follow is evident from the position of the secondary hymn after the list of temples in foreign cities which always precedes the *i-nu-mi-šu* clause.

What can be the probable contents of the third column of this cylinder which is probably stowed away in some museum in America? That it will give us the account of some building not hitherto described at length is certain. We are also certain that it is a contemporaneous document and describes an event between the works included in the Wady Brissa inscription and 85, 4-30, or EIH. The work which falls in this period which we wish above all to know about is the building of the palace north of the Great Eastern Wall which is mentioned only by the brief section of 85, 4-30, 1 Col. III 11-29, and which is strangely absent in the last inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, i. e. the East India House inscription. I have demonstrated at length elsewhere that the redactor of EIH. has probably omitted mention of a palace outside the wall on account of his strong Marduk and national tendencies. But it is not likely that the redactor of the American cylinder had any such tendencies, as the secondary hymn does not betray any trace of the later Marduk development. It is barely possible that this cylinder will give us this account of the palace (now buried in the ruins of the mound Babil) where most of the best authorities locate the site of the famous Hanging Gardens. If such be the case, the document is of extraordinary interest.

The column may be an account of the building of the zikkurat of Borsā which was among the latest works of this king and of which we have the short document I R. 51, No. 1, and which is mentioned only by 85, 4-30, 1 Col. III 39 and EIH. Col. III 67. There is one more possibility, and that is the new palace within the walls described by EIH. VIII 27-IX 37; but this is unlikely, for both this inscription and 85, 4-30, 1 give this account at length.

It is likely then that this unpublished cylinder which has followed AH. 82, 7-14, 1042 so closely in its redaction contains either an account of the northern palace or of E-taš-me-imin-anki at Borsā. Let us hope for the former. It is remarkable for the fact that it is the last of all the documents of the great redactions which retained the *i-nu-ma* and *i-nu-mi-šu* formula. I had supposed that this form of document gave way completely in the latter days of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the pure historic forms of redactions of which Wady Brissa and EIH., especially the latter, are the best examples. But the existence of this cylinder proves that the form still existed in the schools of the scribes of Babylon in the last years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to be revived again under the succeeding rulers.

Solomon's Horse-trade.—By WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Professor
in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

FOR the difficulties attending the interpretation of the passage 1 Kings 10:28 f. (=2 Chron. 1:16 f.) the reader is referred to the commentaries of Kittel and Benzinger on the books of Kings and Chronicles, and to Burney's recently published *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*. I make no attempt to determine the historical question as to where Solomon actually got his horses from, but am merely concerned with the interpretation of what the author of our passage had to say—whether from knowledge or from ignorance—upon that subject.

A comparison of the Hebrew text of Kings and Chronicles easily yields the following as the original text of Kings:

ומוצא הסוסים אשר לשלמה ממצרים ומקוה סחרי המלך
יקחו מקנה במחיר ויעלו ויצאו ממצרים מרכבה בשש מאות
כסף וסוס בחמשים ומאה וכן לכל מלכי החתים ולמלכי ארם
בדם יצאו

The only alteration I have made on conjecture is the reading **מקנה** in place of the second **מקוה** of the text, which is thereupon satisfactorily rendered:

And the exportation (we would say importation) of Solomon's horses was from Egypt. For (ו=German nämlich) a company of the king's traders (customarily) took currency for exchange, and went up and exported from Egypt, (at the rate of) a chariot for 600 pieces of silver, and a horse for 150. And so with all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Aram: by means of them (the merchants) they (the kings) exported.



Additional Palmyrene Inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.—By WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

I AM indebted to my friend and former colleague, Mr. George H. Story, Acting-Director of the Metropolitan Museum, for placing at my disposal the photographs of these monuments.

I.

Bust of a woman of middle age, with frontlet, turban, and izâr. The inscription consists of seven lines above the left shoulder and an additional three lines above the right.

8 בסיון	1 חבל תדמר
9 שנת III [C]	2 אתה
10 LVII	3 מקימו בר
	4 נורבל
	5 אמנא
	6 מיתת יום
	7 XXIX

Alas! Tadmor, the wife of Moqînu son of Nârbel, the artisan. She died on the 29th day of Siran in the year 457 (=June, 146 A. D.).

In place of יי of יום in line 6 and סיון in line 8, the inscription has unmistakably יי. That the engraver did not intend the second letter for a נ, appears from the form of this last in מקימו and נורבל of lines 3 and 4. Though the stone is chipped off almost immediately to the left of the numeral IIII. of line 9, I am not sure that the numeral was originally followed by the sign for C. It is perhaps worth while pointing out that the character for 5 in both lines 7 and 10 is turned back 90 degrees, so that its main stroke is horizontal.

The names מקימו and נורבל are familiar. The name תדמר is known from an inscription published by Father Ronzevalle in the Arabic journal *Al-Machriq*, iii (1900), p. 259 f. In a note

on that inscription, Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, i, p. 207) is inclined to question whether this feminine proper-name has any relation to the name of the city; he thinks it may = **قَدْمُر**, names from the root **قَدِم** being especially frequent in South Arabian. But Arabic **قَدْمُر** would hardly be written **תרמור**, as is this same feminine proper-name on the next monument to be discussed, where it is borne by a granddaughter of the woman here represented. See, further, the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, i, No. 46.

II.

Full, reclining figure of a man, holding a vase in the left hand and a bunch of dates in the right. In the rear, three children, two girls and a boy. The girls wear frontlets, turban, and izâr, and heavy necklaces. The boy, standing between the two girls, wears a necklace with large pendant, and carries what seems to be a fowl with the left hand and a bunch of fruit with the right. The main inscription is on the left side of the reclining figure, beginning at a point a little below the level of the shoulder; it doubtless extended to the base of the monument, so that at least three entire lines have been broken off, besides part of the last line preserved.

1 זכר בול

2 בר מקימו

3 בר נורבל

4 בר זכרא

5 [ב]ר עברי

6 [בר]... בול

.....

.....

.....

Above the left shoulder of the girl nearest the father are two lines:

1 תרמור

2 בריתה









III.

Above the left shoulder of the boy:

מקימו 1

ברה 2

Above the left shoulder of the third child:

עלית 1


ברתה 2

Zabdiból, the son of Moqîmu, the son of Nârbel, the son of Zabdu, the son of 'Abdi, [the son of] ból

Tadmor, his daughter.

Moqîmu, his son.

'Aliyyat, his daughter.

Attention should be called to the peculiar ligature  of the letters רב in line 7; cf. the final ן in De Vog., No. 30a (Lidzbarski, Plate XL, 11), line 3.

On the feminine proper-name תרמור (תרמר) see the preceding monument. The other names are more or less well-known.

III.

Bust of a young woman with broad frontlet, turban, massive ear-rings, and izâr. The inscription is above the left shoulder.

עלית 1

ברת 2

זברכול 3

'Aliyyat, the daughter of Zabdiból.

This person is obviously identical with the 'Aliyyat of the preceding monument; and as III. is doubtless her proper tombstone, we must assume that in II. we have another case of children still living being represented on the father's tombstone.

IV.

Bust of young man, with moustache, neatly trimmed side-whiskers, and curly hair. The inscription is above the left shoulder.

- חבל 1
 נורבל בר 2
 מקימו נורבל 3
 בקנין שנת 4
 IIIIC 5
 LXXX 6
 XII 7

Alas! Nārbel, the son of Moqīmu [son of] Nārbel. In [the month of] QNIN of the year 492 (= [if QNIN = Tammūz] July, 181 A.D.).

The form "A, son of B C" is quite common when the pedigree is carried up just two generations; see the first of the inscriptions published by Littmann in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, ii. p. 374 f., republished in the *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, Part IV., p. 66 f.

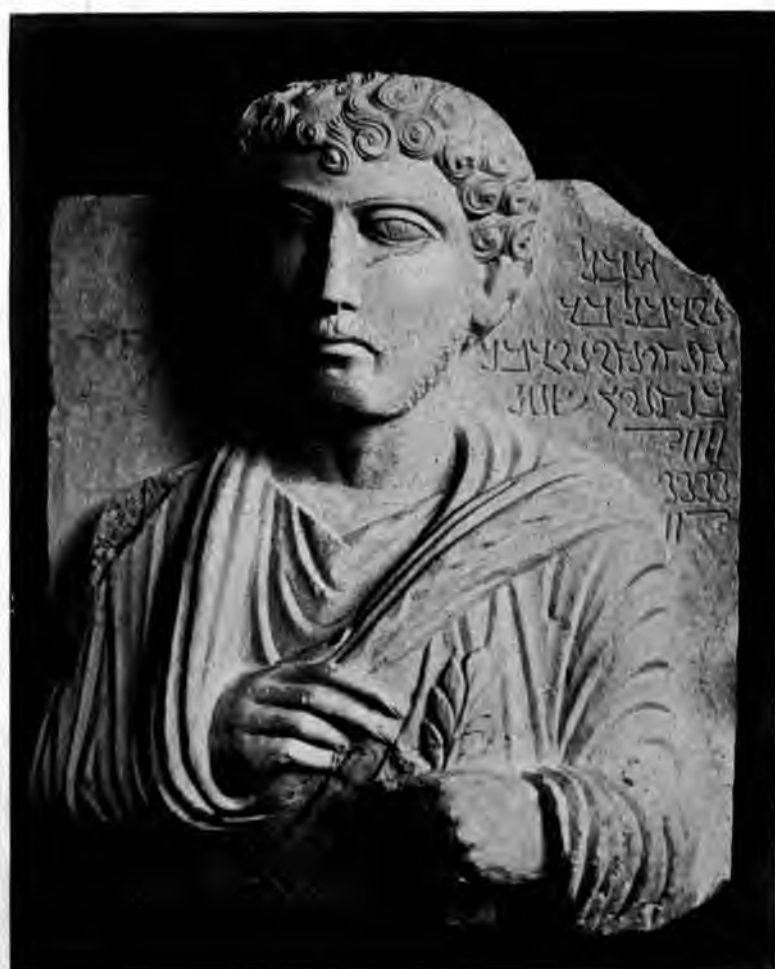
V.

Full figure of a boy, with inscription to his left.

- חבל 1
 שעראל 2
 בר זברבול 3
 בר מקימו 4
 אמנא 5
 מית יום III 6
 בכנן שנת 7
 IIIICLXXX 8
 IIII 9

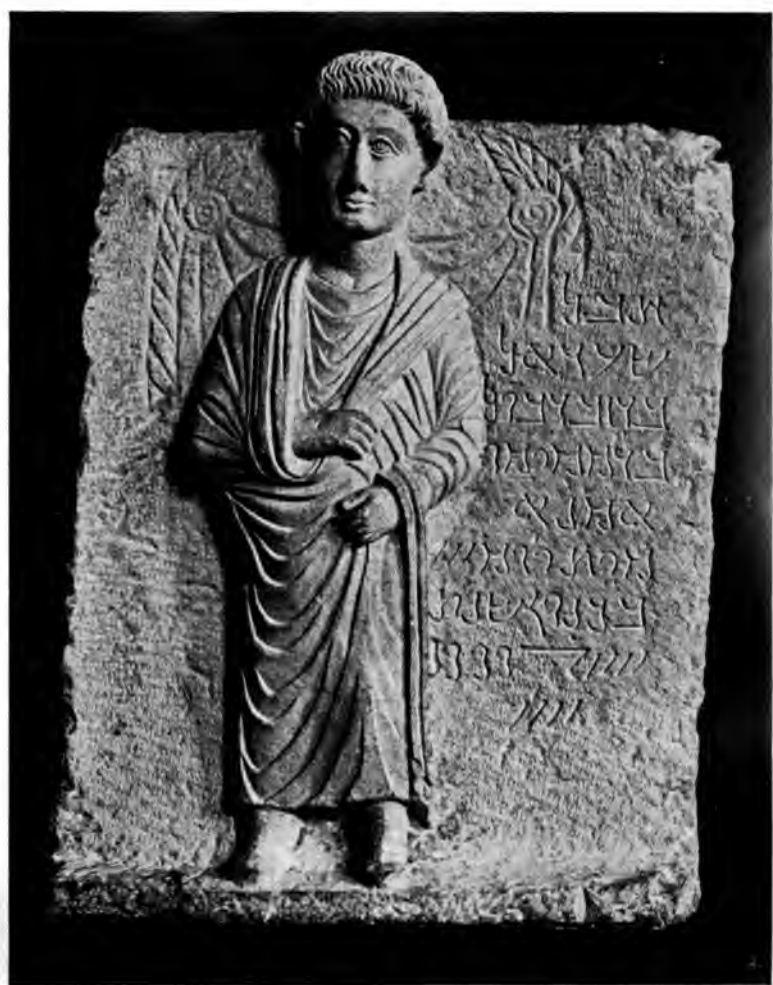
Alas! Sa'del, the son of Zabdiból, the son of Moqīmu, the artisan. He died on the 3rd day of Kanān in the year 484 (= November, 172 A. D.).

This identical legend is published by Ronzevalle in the work already mentioned, p. 419 ff., and reported by Lidzbarski, *Ephe-*



IV.









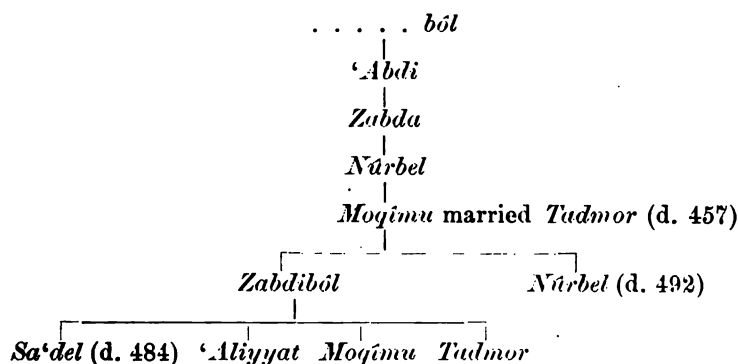
VI.

meris i, p. 208. But Ronzevalle's inscription is in two columns, and the division into lines is a different one:

מִית יוֹם 5	חבל שְׁעֵרָאֵל 1
בכנון III 6	בר זִבְרָבֹל 2
שנת IIIIC 7	בר מִקִּימו 3
LXXXIIII 8	אִמְנָא 4

The appended description of the monument also makes it absolutely certain that it is not identical with the one here published, though the resemblance between them is very close indeed. Moreover, the facsimile there (*ibid.*, p. 421) shows characters which in form are almost exactly the same throughout as these. The two monuments were probably made at about the same time and by the same workman.

Combining the data of these five inscriptions, we secure the following family tree:



VI.

Bust of a bearded man of middle age. The inscription is above the left shoulder.

- 1 מִתְנִי בֵר
2 זִבְרָא חֲבֵל

Mattānai, the son of Zabda. Alas!

The name מִתְנִי, which is known (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 319), I take to be a hypocoristic, like מִתְנָא.

VII.

Bust of a beardless young man, holding in the left hand a bowl decorated with diagonal lines. The stone is almost entirely broken off over the left shoulder. The inscription is above the right shoulder. Line 2 contained at least two additional letters, the first part of a name which was completed on another line at the extreme left of the stone. Of this last line, only a fragment of the first letter has been preserved.

1 מלכו בור

2 זבא בר ..

3 ..

Mālika, the son of Zubba, the son of

זבא is according to Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, p. 264) a hypocoristic of a name beginning with זכר.

VIII.

Votive stele, 20½ inches in height. The inscription covers the entire surface of a plain panel between protruding base and capital decorated with bands of moulding. The ך is dotted in this inscription, and the numeral at the end is followed by the familiar decorative leaf.

1 בריך שמה לעלמא

2 טבא ורחמנא עבר

3 ומורא חגגו בר

4 יהיבא בר ירחי

5 דכא על חייהי

6 וחיא אבוהי

7 ואחוהי בירח

8 קנין שנת VC

XLIII 9

Blessed be his name for ever, the good, the compassionate! Made and devotes [this monument] Haggāgu, the son of Yehība, the son of Yarhai, the — ; for his life and the life of his father and his brother. In the month QNIN of the year 543 (=231/232 A. D.).



VII.





VIII.



If, with Clermont-Ganneau, we take QNIN to be the Palmyrene equivalent of Tammûz, the date is July, 232 A. D.

דכא is doubtless the designation of a trade or vocation, and refers back to Ḥaggâgu. It will hardly be a surname (= *the pure*), or indeed have anything to do with the root דכא *to be clean*. Might we perhaps connect it with the root of דוכן, Arabic دكان? The Arabs consider دكان a Persian word; but see Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 188.

This appears to be the same votive stele which is published in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch*, p. 476, No. 10, and is there said to be "im Besitze des Konsuls J. Løytved in Beirût." The agreement is perfect, not only in the wording, but also in the division of the lines. To be sure, the Løytved monument is marked as defective below, the last line being either wanting or illegible; while on the contrary the conclusion of the inscription in the Metropolitan Museum can be made out easily and with certainty, the lower part of the last line being indeed broken in two, but not in such a manner as to render the reading doubtful.

This was not the last monument erected by the pious Ḥaggâgu. Twenty-nine years later, in April, 261 A.D., when another generation had come into being, he consecrated an altar with the legend (published by De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, *Inscriptions de Palmyre*, No. 90):

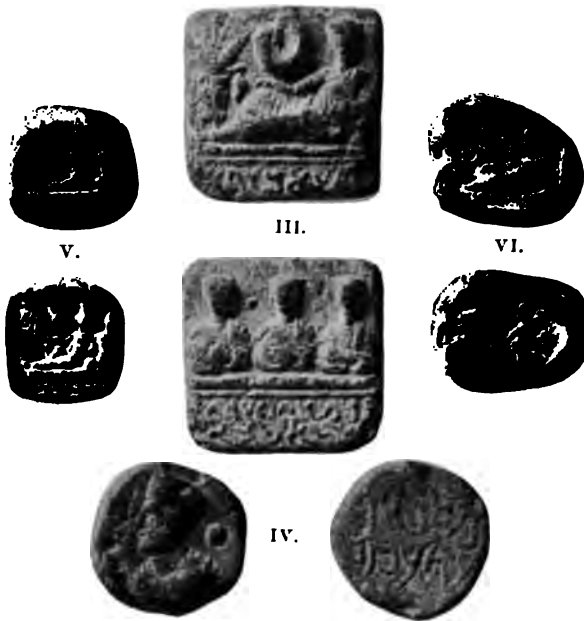
- 1 בריך שמה לעלמא טבא
- 2 [ור]חמנא עבד ומורא
- 3 [ח]גגו בר יהיבא ירחי
- 4 דכא על חייהי וחיא
- 5 אבוהי וחיא אחוהי
- 6 [וח]יא בניהון [בירח]
- 7 [ני]סן שנת 572

[Four other inscriptions from this same collection were published, with photographs, by Professor Gottheil in this Journal, vol. xxi. (1900), pp. 109 ff. See also Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, i, 215, and the *Répertoire d'épigr. sémit.*, Nos. 157–160, where some corrections are made. A word may be added here in regard to Gottheil's Nos. 5 and 6, which together form a single

inscription, as Chabot (*Répert.*, No. 159) has seen. The correct reading of the first half ("No. 6") is:

חבל
גא*
[ב]ר זכרעת
ה

Every letter of the name **זכרעתה** is distinct and unmistakable on the stone, as a look at the monument has shown me. Nor is there any room for doubt as to the **חבל**. The letter preceding the **א** in line 2 is not **ח** (Chabot), but **ג**. It is possible that the letter before this was **ע**. The whole inscription was correctly read and interpreted by Professor Arnold in 1898, but his manuscript unfortunately remained unpublished.—Ed.]



*Palmyrene Tesserae.*¹—By HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., Paterson,
N. J.

I. This tessera is square, resembling in form de Vog. 132. In the left corner of the obverse side is a symbol of the sun, with eight rays emanating from the center and dots between the rays. The inscription:

בני
תימרצו

The sons of Taimarṣu.

The name is well known.

Reverse:

אנן בל
בעלתך

May Bel protect Baaltak.

“Baaltak” occurs in Vog. 156; here it seems to be a proper name.²

Below the inscription are five circles in a straight line.

II. The obverse shows a reclining figure on the funerary couch, dressed in a tunic and mantle. The right arm is bare.

¹ These tesserae are now in the possession of Dr. William Hayes Ward, of Newark, N. J.

² [Vog. 156 (=Mordtmann 52; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 489, top) reads: בני תימרצו בל בעלתך. It seems certain that בעלתך cannot there be the name of a person, and in the present case we have obviously a third specimen of the same inscription. Either בעלתך is an epithet of the god Bēl, or else ב is the preposition and עלת a noun: “Protect, O Bēl, “for thine own sake!” It is probable that in all the many cases of this kind the god is directly addressed, אנן being the imperative rather than the 3 pers. of the perf., as given in Lidzbarski's Vocabulary. Should the verb אנן be regarded as *transitive* in these cases? A letter from Professor Nöldeke, received by the writer some time ago, seems to suggest the contrary, remarking that the verb is properly construed with על, not with a direct object. In that case, the proper names which follow the אנן formula are to be regarded as standing by themselves.—ED.]

The head is covered with the modius. Opposite the figure, filling out the left half of the field, is a branch with fruits. Figure and branch are enclosed by an arch made of laurel leaves, resting at both ends upon a column. Below the figure is a mutilated inscription:

אלהשא תימשא *Elāhša Taimša.*

The name אלהשא, if such it be, occurs in Vog. 34¹–70¹, etc. The last three letters of the second name are distinctly visible on the original. The beginning of the word, which is only in part preserved, is probably תי.

Reverse:

The top is formed by two garlands meeting in a point. From it is suspended a medal with a nude figure, in front of which is an altar. On each side of the medal is a round fruit on a long stem. Below the medal is a large urn, on either side of which stands a small amphora with handles. To the right and left are two large figures wearing the tunic; the outstretched left arms are resting upon the urn, while the right hands are holding branches or sheaves which are leaning against the left shoulders. To the right of each figure stands an altar. There is no inscription.

III. This tessera is square and shows a reclining figure, like I. The bare right arm is stretched out to receive something which a winged genius, who is in a walking position, is presenting. Between these two figures is a medal with a small standing figure.

The inscription at the bottom is imperfect:

כרפא ** שא

The last four letters may possibly be the name כרפא, which is of frequent occurrence. It is most commonly written with a ן after the כ.

שא may be the last syllable of several different names, e. g., תימשא. חרשא.

The reverse shows three busts, under which is the following inscription:

כמריא די

בל אלהא

*The priests of
The god Bēl.*

IV. This tessera is round, and shows the bust of a man wearing the modius, facing to the left. To the right of the figure is a large dot, perhaps symbolical of the sun.

Reverse:

מלכו
עתקב

Māliku and Athe'agab.

Both names are well known.

V. This tessera is small, square, and colored in red. The obverse shows two figures with crown-like headdresses, seated on the funerary couch. The figure in front seems to hold something in the right hand, perhaps a pair of scales. Along the left edge and the bottom are inscriptions which are only partly preserved:

רח * י (?)

Instead of ח we might possibly read ק. The reverse is exactly like the obverse. The inscriptions are better preserved:

ח

רחי

The sons of Raḥi (?).

One might feel inclined to read the bottom line of the obverse רחי, like the reverse; but the space between the ' and ח is almost too great to have been left between two letters of a word.

VI. The tessera is oval. It has on the obverse a reclining figure and a branch with fruits, like II, but the funerary couch is not indicated. Below the figure is an inscription evidently preserved only in part:

בירא *

If the last letter is an aleph, it has certainly a very peculiar form. Prof. Euting, to whom I submitted a cast, is of the opinion that the character cannot be א, it may be a ת. In this case the name on the tessera may be completed to זְבִידָה זְבִירָה, cf. Euting, *Sinait. Inschriften*, 364^b. Prof. Torrey called my attention to the fact that reversals of letters are occasionally found in Semitic inscriptions, and that the letter in question is exactly the reversal of a Palmyrene א. The names בִּירָא and זְבִירָא are well known.

The reverse is fortunately well preserved and the presentation is quite unique. On the left is a bust facing toward the right. Upon the head is a rayed crown, under which the long wavy hair protrudes. On the right, facing the bust, is a four-winged genius standing upright, with two wings pointed upward and two downward. His right hand is resting upon a wheel with four spokes, or a globe. One is immediately reminded of Ezekiel 1:15 ff. Over the wheel is written in square Aramaic characters the name

זבדבול
Zabdibol.

The name is well known.

VII. The obverse is similar to that of II. The inscription is no longer legible.

Reverse: In the center is a medallion surrounded by a wreath of leaves which is held together by a large bow. On either side of this center piece is a large bird (eagle?). The inscription is almost entirely effaced.

In the first line to the right we have only ל** preserved. We see to the left of the bow two very small letters של and part of a third, but not enough to decide what it is. It may be part of a מ; in this case the name might be completed to שלמא.

In the second line only the first two letters שנ and part of a numeral have been preserved. In view of this we must complete the first two letters to the word שנת. The signs indicating the hundreds are no longer visible, only the sign which in connection with them expresses hundred, and this is followed by the sign for 20.

Hebrew חמשים, חמשה.—By Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE Semitic numeral 'five' had originally the form *qatil*, as is shown by the feminine forms, Assyrian *hamilti*, Ethiopic **አሙሽ**: *hamēštā*.¹ In Hebrew the masculine of this numeral is **חֲמִשׁ** according to the regular representation of the form *qatil* in that language,² but the feminine and plural, instead of having the regular forms **חֲמִשָּׁה***, **חֲמִשִּׁים*** (cf. **דָּבַק** 'clinging,' **דְּבָקִים**, **דְּבָקָה**), occur in the forms **חֲמִשָּׁה**, **חֲמִשִּׁים**.

These forms are usually explained like **גַּמְלִים**, plural of **גַּמֶּל** (< **gamal*) 'camel,' **עֲגֻלָּה**, feminine of **עֶגֶל** (< **agul*) 'round,' where instead of a long vowel in the open pretonic syllable, we have the original short vowel preserved with doubling of the following consonant.³

The only other case in which an original *i* in a pretonic open syllable seems to be treated in this way, is the form **נְחִתִּים**

¹ The third stem consonant of the numeral is *š*, (cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familien-Gesetze*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 20, f. n. 3). Antedental *š* in Assyrian becomes *l* (cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, Berlin, 1889, p. 119). In Ethiopic, *i* regularly becomes *ē* (cf. Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1899, § 19). Arabic **خمس** *hamsu** is syncope from a more original *qatil* form, viz., *hamisu**, just as Assyrian *kabtu* 'heavy,' the original *i* of which is preserved in the feminine *kabittu* (cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 90), and Hebrew **כֹּתֵף** [< **katip*] construct of **כֹּתֵף** [< **katip*] 'shoulder' (cf. Haupt, *Hebraica*, I, 228, n. 1; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Gram.*, Oxford, 1898, § 84, p. 238; Lagarde, *Übersicht*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 72; also my article *So-called Intransitive Verbal forms in Semitic. Part I. Hebrew*, JAOS., vol. 24, p. 200). In Syriac **ܚܡܫܬܐ** *hammeš* the doubling is secondary; a short vowel in an open pretonic syllable, which would otherwise become *Shewa*, is often preserved in this way in Aramaic, cf. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gram. d. Sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898, p. 43; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 44, b.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 240, g.

³ Cf. Stade, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 149, 67 bot.; König, *Lehrgebäude*, Leipzig, 1895, II. 1, p. 208; Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 80.

'descending,' II Kgs. vi. 9, which is regarded as the plural of a verbal adjective of the form *qatīl*, viz., נָחַת*, no other form of which, however, is found. The form נַחְתִּים itself, moreover, is probably due to corruption of the text.¹

The forms חֲמִשָּׁה and חֲמִשִּׁים are more probably to be explained as due to the analogical influence of שֵׁשֶׁה and שִׁשִּׁים, the corresponding forms of the numeral 'six,' where the doubling is organic, resulting from the assimilation of an original *d*, viz., *šiššā* < **šidšā*, *šiššīm* < **šidšīm* (cf. Ethiopic ስስስ፡ *sēdēstū* 'six,' Arabic سادس *sādīsu* 'sixth').²

Such manifestations of the principle of analogy are very common in numerals which stand consecutively in the regular numerical order.³ The Indo-European words for 'seven' and 'eight,' *septem* and *oktō*, appear in Attic Greek as ἑπτα and ὀκτω. In the Heracleian dialect, however, 'eight' is ὀκτω, the rough breathing being due to the influence of ἑπτα.⁴ In the Elia dialect the κ of ὀκτω has become π, viz., ὀπτω, under the influence of the π in ἑπτα.⁵ In Provençal, the mediæval Romance dialect of the south of France, the name of the eighth month occurs not only as *octobre*, but also in the form *octembre*, following the analogy of the seventh month *septembre*.⁶ In High German, *elf* 'eleven' is modified from more original *einlif* after the analogy of the following numeral *zweelif*, *zwelf*.⁷ Numerous other instances might be cited in the domain of Indo-European speech.

¹ It should probably be amended to נַחְתִּים 'hidden,' cf. Stade and Schwally, *Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings*, p. 205, l. 88, in SBOT., edited by Professor Haupt.

² The second *š* is *š*.. Cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familien-Gesetze*, loc. cit. In Syriac ܫܬ *šeth* < *šitt* < *šidt*; in Arabic ست *sittu* < *sidthu*, with reciprocal assimilation of the *d* and *th*.

³ Cf. Osthoff u. Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1878, Th. 1, pp. 92-132.

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁵ Cf. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Göttingen, 1882, Bd. 2, p. 56.

⁶ Cf. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891, p. 525, no. 5714. The statement in Osthoff u. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, p. 92, that this form is found in Old French, based on Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. Romanischen Sprachen* (cf. 5 Ausg., Bonn, 1887, Vorr., p. xix, top), is incorrect.

⁷ Cf. Osthoff u. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

In Semitic itself there are similar analogical modifications in the Assyrian numerals. The three consonants of the numeral 'six' were in parent Semitic δ - d - δ , both δ 's being δ_1 , as is shown by Hebrew שֵׁשׁ (< *šidš), Arabic سادس *sādīs* 'sixth,' Ethiopic ስድስት: *sēdēstā* 'six'. In Assyrian, where all δ 's appear as δ , we should expect for 'six' a word with initial δ , but the equation VI = *su-du-*¹ shows that this numeral began with *s*, doubtless on account of dissimilation from the final consonant δ : just as we have in Arabic شمس *šamsu* 'sun' for **samsu*, both sibilants being originally δ_1 , as is shown by Hebrew שֶׁשׁ, Syriac مܫܬ *šimšā*; and in Ethiopic ሳላስት: *šalastū* 'three' for **salastū*, where both sibilants are originally δ_1 , as is shown by Hebrew שלש. Syriac ܬܠܬ *tēlāth*, Arabic ثلاث *thalāth*.²

This initial *s* of the Assyrian numeral 'six' seems to have influenced both the following numerals 'seven' and 'eight,' so that we have *seba* instead of *šebu*, and *samānu* instead of *šamānu*.³

In a similar way the forms חֲמִשָּׁה and חֲמִשִּׁים are to be explained as analogical modifications of the original forms, due to the influence of the following numeral שֵׁשׁ. The endings of the two numerals being identical in the masculine absolute and feminine construct, viz.:

Masc. abs. שֵׁשׁ-חֲמִשָּׁה,

Fem. const. שֵׁשֶׁת-חֲמִשִּׁת.

it was quite natural for the other forms of 'five' to follow the analogy of the corresponding forms of 'six,' the feminine absolute חֲמִשָּׁה* and the plural חֲמִשִּׁים* becoming respectively חֲמִשָּׁה and חֲמִשִּׁים after the pattern of שֵׁשֶׁת and שִׁשִּׁים.

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, p. 204; Eng. ed., p. 206; Schrader, *Die Assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften*, ZDMG. 26, p. 287.

² Cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familien-Gesetze*, loc. cit.

³ Cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

The Bisayan Dialects.—By Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University.

AMONG the large number of idioms which are spoken in the Philippine Islands, that which stands next in rank to Tagalog, the most important and best known language of the Archipelago, is undoubtedly Bisayan, which is spoken by more people than any other Philippine idiom, forming the medium of daily intercourse of over three million souls, almost half the civilized population of the islands. Its territory is also more extensive than that of any of its sister tongues, embracing the Bisayan Islands, viz.: the large islands, Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Samar, Leyte, and the small islands, Romblon, Tablas, and Sibuyan; and the north and east coasts of Mindanao: it also forms one of the idioms spoken in the island of Masbate, in the Calamianes Islands, and on the coast of Mindoro.

As would naturally be expected in a language spoken in so many separate places with but imperfect means of communication between them, Bisayan appears in a number of different dialects.

The Austin friars Buzeta and Bravo in their Philippine Encyclopedia¹ enumerate four dialects, viz.:

- 1) that of Panay, spoken in the town of Iloilo, in the islands Romblon, Tablas, Sibuyan, in the northwestern part of the island of Negros, and in Mindanao in the districts of Misamis and Caraga, and in the town of Zamboanga.
- 2) that of Capiz on the island of Panay, which differs little from the above.
- 3) Cebuano, spoken in the islands of Cebu and Bohol, and in the island of Negros in the parts next to Cebu. Those who speak this dialect are said to understand without difficulty the dialect of Iloilo.
- 4) the dialect of the Calamianes group, and of that part of the island of Paragua which was conquered by the Spaniards. It is said to be a mixture of Tagalog and Bisayan.

¹ *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1851, vol. i, p. 66.

The statement is also made that the inhabitants of Iloilo do not understand those of the island of Samar, though nothing further is said about the dialect of Samar, and nothing at all about that of the adjoining island of Leyte.

In 'El Archipiélago Filipino,' an encyclopedic work on the islands prepared by the Jesuits, where the languages spoken in each district are enumerated, the following references are made to Bisayan and its dialects. Visaya (*sic*) without specification of dialect, is said to be spoken in the islands of Romblon, Tablas, Sibuyan, Masbate, Panay, Negros, Leyte, in the Calamian and Cuyo groups, and in the districts of Surigao and Davao on the island of Mindanao. The inhabitants of the district of Antique on the island of Panay are said to speak a somewhat modified form of Visaya. In Zamboanga on Mindanao is spoken a jargon which is a mixture of Spanish, Tagalog, Visaya, and Moro. Visaya Panayano is said to be spoken in the island of Mindoro, and Panayano in Negros; Visaya Cebuano in Cebu and the district of Misamis; Visaya Boholano in Bohol. Nothing is said of the language spoken in Samar.

Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt of Leitmeritz, Bohemia, the greatest living authority on the Philippine Islands, gives the following notices of Bisayan and its various dialects in his 'List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the Languages spoken by them.'

Bisaya is divided into several dialects of which Cebuano and Panayano are the most important. Caraga is said to be the name of a dialect, perhaps Bisayan, which was formerly spoken on the east coast of Mindanao; at the present time, however, only Bisayan is spoken there. Hiliguayna, Hiligueyna or Hiligvoyna¹ is the name given to the dialect spoken on the coast of Panay. Halaya is a dialect of the interior of the same island. Haraya is a dialect of Panay nearly identical with the foregoing.

¹ Washington, 1900. Cf. *Tratado I*, *passim*.

² Cf. Blumentritt, *List of the Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the languages spoken by them*, trans. by O. T. Mason in *Smithsonian Inst. Report for year ending June, 1899*, Washington, 1901, pp. 527-547.

³ Spelt also Hiligayna in the grammar of Mentrída and Aparicio, cf. below p. 122, ft. nt. 1.

From these incomplete and conflicting statements alone it would be very difficult, if not practically impossible, to obtain any adequate idea of the real number and distribution of the Bisayan dialects, but with the help of grammars, vocabularies, texts, etc., of the various dialects much may be accomplished.¹

In the first place the fourth dialect of Buzeta and Bravo is probably not a Bisayan dialect. This is indicated by the fact that both Blumentritt and 'El Archipiélago Filipino' regard Calamiano or Calamian as a distinct language, and is clearly evident from a short Calamian vocabulary² by an Austin friar who was at one time Provincial Vicar of the province of Calamianes. As the district assigned to Calamian by Buzeta and Bravo corresponds to the habitat of the Tagbanuas, it is probable that Calamian is only another name for Tagbanua. Besides the language called Calamian, however, some form of Bisayan is also spoken in the Calamian group.

Secondly, Hiliguayna and Panayano or Panayan appear, from a comparison of the Hiliguayna grammar of Mentrída, and the Panayan grammar of Lozano, to be simply two names for the same dialect. The few minor differences between the two grammars seem to be due simply to the fact that the statements of the latter are abridged and often imperfect, while the former gives in many cases forms which are rare or only used in certain districts. At any rate these differences are so slight that, even if they represent differences in the spoken language, we are justified in classing the dialects of the two grammars together under one head.

¹ The most important of these grammars and dictionaries are the following :

Zueco, *Método del Dr. Ollendorff . . . adaptado al bisaya*, Manila, 1871.

Bermejo, *Arte compendiado de la lengua cebuana*, 2^a, ed., Tambobong, 1894.

Mentrída and Aparicio, *Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna*, Tambobong, 1894.

Lozano, *Cursos de lengua panayana*, Manila, 1876.

Figuerola, *Arte del idioma visaya de Samar y Leite* 2^a, ed., Binondo 1872.

Encarnacion, *Diccionario bisaya-español and Dicc. español-bisaya*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1885.

² Reprinted by W. E. Retana in *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Madrid, 1895-98, vol. ii, pp. 211-224.

The principal difference between the Haraya and Halaya dialects, which are said to be almost identical, is in all probability that which is shown in the names themselves, i. e., an *l* in Halaya is represented by an *r* in Haraya.

The dialect of Bohol and Misamis, as stated in 'El Archipiélago Filipino,' is without doubt Cebuan. This is rendered *a priori* probable with regard to Misamis by the fact that the tribes of the northeastern part of Mindanao were found by Magellan, who discovered the islands in 1521, to be united by ties of friendship with the inhabitants of Cebu;¹ and is made practically certain by the Bisayan grammar of Zueco, which was written by a priest of Misamis, and treats the Bisayan spoken in Cebu, Bohol and Misamis. The statement of Buzeta and Bravo that the dialect of Misamis is the same as that of Iloilo, seems to be simply an error.

In Negros, according to Buzeta and Bravo, Cebuano is spoken in the part adjacent to Cebu and the dialect of Iloilo in the northwest. 'El Archipiélago Filipino' gives the languages of Negros as Visaya and Panayano, which probably means the same as the preceding.

None of these authorities made any direct reference to the dialect of Samar and Leyte, which is a distinct dialect as shown by Figueroa's grammar of the Bisayan of Samar and Leyte.

The principal dialects and their approximate territory, therefore, may be set down as follows:

- 1) Cebuano or Cebuan, in Cebu, Bohol, eastern Negros and north and east (?) Mindanao.
- 2) Hiliguayna, Panayano or Panayan, on the coast of Panay, part of Negros, the Romblon group, and the southern coast of Mindoro; perhaps also in the Calamian and Cuyo islands, since they are near Panay. The term Hiliguayna is to be preferred, as this dialect is not the only one spoken on Panay.
- 3) Haraya or Harayan, including Halaya or Halayan, in the interior of Panay.
- 4) Samaro-Leytean in Samar and Leyte.

What dialect is spoken in the island of Masbate is uncertain. Besides the dialects here given, there are probably others, as

¹ Cf. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 2^d ed., New York, 1899, p. 22.

seems to be indicated by the statements with regard to the dialects of the districts of Capiz and Antique on the island of Panay, but these will in all probability be found to be simply minor subdivisions of one or the other of the four groups just given.

The principal features which the Bisayan dialects possess in common have been enumerated in my paper on 'Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan,' so it will not be necessary to repeat them here. The differences among the various dialects are lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical. In the present paper the discussion will be confined to the last three classes. As the only materials for the study of the Iilarayan dialect are a few paradigms and remarks in Mentrída and Aparicio's Hiliguayna grammar (pp. 18-20), the following comparative sketch will be concerned chiefly with the Cebuan, Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean dialects.

PHONOLOGY.

Phonetic changes are few. In Samaro-Leytean final guttural nasal *ng* becomes the dental nasal *n*, e. g., *an* 'the' = Hiliguayna

¹ JAOS. vol. xxv, pp. 162-169. The particle *ug* is used in Cebuan after *wala* in the same way as *sing* in Hiliguayna (cf. p. 169 of article cited), e. g., *wala ako ug humay* 'I have no rice,' though it does not appear to be very common. Cf. Encarnación, *Dicc.*, article *og*, p. 252 a. Some additional differences are the following, viz.:

1) The Bisayan particles *sing* and *ug* are used before a noun which modifies an adjective and indicates 'in what respect,' e. g., *masakit ako sing olo* 'I am sick with respect to the head, I have a headache'; *maayo ug dagway* 'good with respect to appearance, of good appearance'; in this case Tagalog employs the nominative with the article *ang*, e. g., *ang manâ siâ ang bait* 'those destroyed with respect to the intelligence, the insane.'

2) The negative of the preterite is made in all the Bisayan dialects with the negative of indefinite possession plus the imperative-infinitive, e. g., Ceb. *wala buhaton nia* or *wala nia buhata* 'he did not do it;' instead of, as in Tagalog, with the regular negative plus the preterite, e. g., *hindi niyâ ginawâ*.

3) The Bisayan particles *ig-*, *iga-* in the *i* passive (cf. below p. 132), and suffix *-a*, *-ha* with nouns modified by interrogative adjectives, e. g., Ceb. *onsa-ng iro-a* 'what dog?' Hil. *ano ngâ tauo-ha* 'what man?' have no parallels in Tagalog.

4) The two languages also exhibit a number of differences in nominal and verbal derivation, but these cannot be discussed here in detail.

and Cebuan *ang*; *sin* indefinite accusative particle=Hiligayna *sing*; *-n* ligature after a vowel=Hiligayna and Cebuan *-ng*. Cases in which the ligature appears as *-ng* instead of *-n*, e. g., *ito-ng balay* 'that house,' are perhaps to be explained as due to the influence of the guttural nasal in the fuller form of the ligature *n̄ga*.

Original *r* is preserved in Samaro-Leytean, but changed to *l* in Cebuan and Hiliguayna, e. g.:

Sam.-Ley.	Ceb. and Hil.
<i>diri</i> 'not'	<i>dili</i>
<i>sira</i> 'they'	<i>sila</i>
<i>surat</i> 'write'	<i>sulat</i> .

That the change is from *r* to *l* and not vice versa is shown by the fact that, while words which have *r* in Samaro-Leytean have regularly *l* in Cebuan and Hiliguayna, many words appear in all these dialects with *l*, e. g., *balay* 'house,' where if the change were from *l* to *r*, we should expect Samaro-Leytean **baray*. Moreover in Tagalog, where an original *r* regularly becomes *l*, as is seen from the treatment of loan words (e. g., *antala* 'interrupt' from Sanskrit *antarā* 'between'; *compisál* 'confess' from Spanish *confesar*) words which have *r* in Samaro-Leytean appear with *l*. On the other hand, a common Bisayan *l*, when intervocalic, is lost in the Tagalog (e. g., *dúan* 'road'=Bisayan *dalan*) according to the regular treatment of original intervocalic *l* in that language.¹

MORPHOLOGY.

The nominative of the simple definite article is *ang* in Cebuan and Hiliguayna, *an* in Samaro-Leytean, *ya* or *nan* in Harayan. Cebuan and Harayan have only one other case, which is used for all the oblique cases, Cebuan *sa*, Harayan *sa*, *et*,² *kan*. Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean, like Tagalog, have a special

¹ Cf. Figueroa, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

² Cf. my paper, *Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog*, JHU. Circs. No. 163, p. 64b.

³ Cf. my paper, *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, p. 104.

⁴ Identical with *ed*, the oblique case of the article in Pangasinan.

form for the genitive, Hiliguayna *sang*, Samaro-Leytean *san*, *kanan*, *nan*;¹ both dialects have *sa* in the oblique case.

The personal article, a particle which always precedes proper names of persons, has the same nominative and genitive forms in all the dialects, viz., *si*, *ni*; in the oblique case, Cebuan and Samaro-Leytean have *kan*, Harayan, *kay*, Hiliguayna, either *kan* or *kay*.

The inclusive article, which is used before proper names of persons to indicate that the person mentioned is accompanied by his companions, friends, family, or those who are connected with him in some way, has in Cebuan and Samaro-Leytean the following forms, viz.:

Ceb.	Sam.-Ley.
nom. <i>sa Pedro</i>	<i>sira Pedro</i>
gen. <i>na Pedro</i>	<i>nira Pedro</i>
obl. <i>ka Pedro</i>	<i>kanda Pedro</i> .

In Hiliguayna there are a number of ways of expressing this article, viz.:

- nom. *sanday Pedro*, *sila nay Pedro*, *sila ni Pedro*
- gen. *nanday Pedro*, *ila nay Pedro*, *ila ni Pedro*
- obl. *kanday Pedro*, *sa ila nay Pedro*, *sa ila ni Pedro*.

The forms *sila si Pedro*, *sila sa Pedro* in the nominative, *nila ni Pedro* in the genitive, and *kanila ni Pedro* in the oblique are also given in the grammars. The idea of plurality in most of these forms seems to be due to the particles *da*, *ra* or *la*, which are probably identical with Ilokan *da* 'they,' a pronoun of the third person plural.

The processes of nominal derivation are in general the same in all the dialects: the majority of the differences which appear to exist are probably simply due to the imperfect statements of the grammars. Peculiar to Samaro-Leytean, however, seem to be abstract forms like *ka-maopay* 'goodness', made with

¹ The form *nan* is used only after the particle *n̄ga* 'say,' e. g., *n̄ga nan padre* 'says the priest'; *n̄ga* is doubtless identical with the ligature, the original meaning of the phrase being something like 'that of the priest,' 'that which he says.' The corresponding Tagalog *a-nang pare* is probably to be analyzed in the same way, for although *a* does not occur in Tagalog as ligature, it is found as such in Ilokan, Ibanag, Pangasinan, Pampanga, and Magindanao.

prefixed *ka* on the basis of the *ma* adjectives; and absolute superlative forms like *gi-daduko-i* 'very large,' *gi-mamatam-is-i* 'very sweet,' made on the basis of roots and *ma* adjectives by prefixing *gi* and suffixing *i* to the root or adjective with its first syllable reduplicated.

The plural of nouns is regularly indicated as in Tagalog by the particle *manġa*, e. g., *tao* 'man,' *manġa tao* 'men.' In Samar-Leytean, however, certain adjectives form their plural by means of a *g* inserted after the first syllable, e. g., *maopay* 'good,' pl. *magopay*; *dako* 'large,' pl. *dagko*. This *g* is probably the same as the *g* in Ilokan *da-g-iti*, the plural of *iti* 'the.' This pluralizing *g* is found also in the verbal particles *makag-*, *makig-*, *manag-*, *manig-*, *masig-* = *magsi-*. It is also quite likely that the verbal prefix *mag* contains this *g*, as verbs made with this particle in Tagalog often have an intensive or frequentative idea, e. g., *sumulat* 'write,' *magsulat* 'write a great deal.' Cf. also below p. 133.

The Bisayan dialects have developed a sort of indefinite accusative particle, which is in Cebuan usually *ng*, sometimes *ak*, in Hiliguayna and Samar-Leytean *sing* and *sin* respectively.¹

The ligatures are practically the same in all the dialects, viz., *-ng* after a vowel, *nġa* after a vowel or consonant; in Samar-Leytean *-ng* usually becomes *-n* according to the regular phonetic laws of the dialect, though *-ng* also occurs (cf. above, p. 124).

In the forms of the personal pronouns there are a number of differences. Harayan possesses in the first person singular nominative, besides the usual form *ako*, the form *akota*, apparently a combination of *ako* and its genitive *ta*, the original meaning being, perhaps, something like 'I, for my part,' 'I myself.' The genitive and oblique forms of the pronoun of the first person singular and plural, with the exception of the genitive forms

¹ *Da* is here, as above, no doubt identical with the pronoun *da* of the third person plural, the word being thus a sort of double plural.

² Cf. Totanes, *Arte de la lengua tagala*, reimpr., Binondo, 1865, p. 45.

³ For the various uses of these particles cf. my paper, *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, p. 168 f.; also above, p. 124, ft. nt. While the statements of Figueroa with regard to *sin* are by no means explicit, it seems to be employed in general like Hiliguayna *sing*, though it does not appear to be used after the negative *waray*.

ko and *ta*, end in Cebuan in *o* or *u*, in the other dialects in *on* or *un*, e. g.:

Cebuan.	Other dialects.
<i>áko</i> 'mine'	<i>akon</i>
<i>kanako</i> 'to me'	<i>kanakon</i>
<i>nato</i> 'our'	<i>naton</i> , etc.

Cebuan seems to be the only dialect which has a dual. *Kíta*, which is used for the dual of the first person in Tagalog, is the pronoun of the second person plural inclusive in Bisayan in general. In Cebuan, however, a distinction between dual and plural is made by means of the accent, viz., *kíta* 'we (pl.)', *kitá* 'we (dual).'

In the second person singular nominative, Harayan possesses, besides the forms common to all the dialects, viz., *ikaw* and *ka*, the form *kaw*. In the second person plural, genitive and oblique, the Samaro-Leytean forms are made from a stem *iyo*, the Cebuan and Hiliguayna forms from a stem *inyo* with an infixed *n*, e. g.:

Sam.-Ley.	Ceb. and Hil.
gen. <i>iyo</i> , <i>niyo</i>	<i>inyo</i> , <i>ninyo</i>
obl. <i>sa iyo</i> , etc.	<i>sa inyo</i> , etc. ¹

The pronouns of the third person singular and plural are in Harayan entirely different from the regular forms in the other dialects, viz., *tana* 'he,' *sanda* 'they;' in the other dialects they are like the Tagalog forms, viz., *siya*, *sila*. The plural *sanda*, however, is used in Hiliguayna alongside of *sila*, and appears also in the inclusive article *sanday* (cf. above, p. 126). In Cebuan the genitive *niya* has a by-form *na* which is identical with the genitive of Harayan *tana*. On the other hand, Harayan has in the oblique case, beside the forms derived from *tana*, viz., *kana*, *kanana*, the form *kaniya* from the same stem as the *siya* of the other dialects.

The oblique cases of the pronouns of all persons, singular and plural, are made in general by prefixing the oblique cases of the articles, viz., *sa* or *ka*, *kan* to one of the forms of the genitive.

¹ In Tagalog *iyo* is used as genitive and oblique of the second person singular, *inyo* as genitive and oblique of the second person plural.

Cebuan and Hiliguayna have both series of forms, e. g., *sa imo*, *kanimo* 'to thee.' In Samaro-Leytean the forms with *sa* are the regular ones, forms with *kan* occurring only in the third person singular and plural. In Harayan there are no oblique forms with *sa*. Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean have oblique forms with initial *d*, which is doubtless identical with the *d* in the oblique case of the Tagalog demonstratives *dito*, *dini*, etc., and with the Malay preposition *di* 'in,' e. g., *dakon* 'to me,' *dimo* 'to thee,' etc. In Samaro-Leytean these forms are used especially as datives. In Hiliguayna these *d* forms occur also with prefixed *ka*, e. g., *kadakon*, *kadimo*, etc. In Hiliguayna in the third person singular and plural, *sang* is sometimes used instead of *sa*, e. g., *sang iya*, *sang ila* for *sa iya*, *sa ila*.

The demonstrative pronouns in all the dialects have but two cases, nominative and general oblique, the difference between the two being indicated by what might be called initial inflection. In Cebuan the nominative is the stem or *k*+stem, the oblique, *ni*+stem, e. g., *adto*, *kadto*; *niadto* 'that.' In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean the stem may also serve as the nominative, but the initial inflectional elements are, *y* for nominative, *s* for oblique, e. g., *adto* (only Sam.-Ley.), *yadto*; *sadto*. In Hiliguayna the nominative has the prefix *y* except in those pronouns beginning with *i*, viz., *ini* 'this,' *ito* 'that,' in Samaro-Leytean the stem form is regular, *y* occurring only in *yadto*. In Harayan the two cases are indicated by initial *d* and *ka* respectively, *ka* being prefixed to the nominative, intervocalic *d* then becoming *l*, e. g., *dagto*, *kadagto*. In this pronoun (not in the other demonstratives) the oblique case has also the form *kagto*, *k* taking the place of the *d* of the nominative.

The interrogative pronouns 'who?' and 'what?' are in Cebuan *kinsa* and *onsa*, in Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean, *sin'o* and *ano* as in Tagalog. Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean, however, have different forms for the genitive of *sin'o*, viz., Hil. *kay-sin'o*, *kanin'o*, *kalin'o*; Sam.-Ley. *kanay*.

The tens of the cardinal numerals are indicated in Bisayan in general by abstract forms derived from the units by prefixing *ka* and suffixing *-an*, e. g., *ka-tlo-an* 'thirty' from *tolo* 'three.' In Hiliguayna, however, they are also formed by multiplication as in Tagalog, e. g., *tolo kapolo* 'thirty.' 'Ten' itself is regularly *napolo*, *polo* 'ten' with prefixed *na*, in Bisayan in general. In

Hiliguayna it is made also by multiplication, viz., *usa kapolo*. The intermediate numerals are generally formed by addition in all the dialects, e. g., Ceb. *katloan ug usa*, Hil. and Sam.-Ley. *katloan kay usa* 'thirty and one, thirty-one.' In Samaro-Leytean, however, the intermediate numbers above one hundred are made by placing *may* 'having' between the greater and the following lesser numeral, e. g., *usa kagatos may usa* 'one hundred having one, one hundred and one.' This formation is also found in other Philippine languages. All intermediate numbers about 'twenty' are formed thus in Bikol with *may*, e. g.,

duu -ng polo may saro 'twenty-one,'
sanggatos may saro 'one hundred and one;'

and in Sulu with the synonymous particle *tug*, e. g.,

kauhan tug isa 'twenty-one,'
ang-ratus tug isa 'one hundred and one.'

In Hiliguayna a combination of the constructions with *kag* and *may* is sometimes found, e. g., *kaluhaan kag may usa* 'twenty-one.'

The prefixes which are used to form active verbs from roots are in general the same in all the dialects, though there are some minor differences. The particle *manġi* seems to occur only in Cebuan; *mangin*, *manum*, *mapat*, *masagin*, only in Hiliguayna; *mai* or *mati*, only in Samaro-Leytean. Cebuan has apparently no *magin*; Hiliguayna, no *mahi*, Samaro-Leytean, no *makag*, *manug*, *manig*. In Hiliguayna the particle *manig* appears in the forms *manik* and *mani*, the latter being *manig* minus the pluralizing *g*. Cebuan and Hiliguayna *masig* corresponds to Samaro-Leytean *magsi*, the two particles differing only in the position of the pluralizing *g*.

In the active verb the dialects differ mainly in the representation of the future and present. In Cebuan these tenses do not differ from the imperative-infinitive and preterite, except in those verbs made with the particles *mag*, *um* and *pa*, i. e., all other verbal classes have but two tense forms, e. g., imperative and future *man-lohod*, preterite and present *nan-lohod* 'kneel.' In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean the most usual way of forming the future and present is, as in Tagalog, by reduplicating a syllable, sometimes of the root, sometimes of the verbal

particle, in the imperative and preterite respectively, e. g., imperative *man-lohod*, future *man-lolohod*, preterite *nan-lohod*, present *nan-lolohod*. In Hiliguayna, however, the unreduplicated forms may also be used for present and future.

In Cebuan, verbs of the *mag* class make their future and present by inserting an *a* after the verbal particle in imperative and preterite respectively; this formation is found in Hiliguayna also, alongside of the forms with reduplication, e. g., imperative *mag-buhat*, future *maga-buhat*, preterite *nag-buhat*, present *naga-buhat* 'do, make.'

Verbs of the *um* class differ considerably in the formation of their tenses in the various dialects. From the root *sulat* 'write' the tense forms are as follows, viz.:

	Ceb.	Hil.	Sam.-Ley.
Impr.	<i>sumulat</i>	<i>sumulat</i>	<i>sumurat</i>
Fut.	<i>musulat</i>	<i>musulat</i> <i>summusulat</i>	<i>masurat</i>
Pret.	<i>misulat</i> <i>minsulat</i>	<i>sinmulat</i>	<i>sinmurat</i> <i>sinurat</i>
Pres.	<i>misulat</i>	<i>sinmusulat</i>	<i>nasurat</i> .

In roots beginning with a vowel all the particles are prefixed, e. g., *um-abut* 'arrive,' etc. The preterite in these forms is indicated by an *in* element which is no doubt identical with the particle *in* that is found in the preterite and present passive in both Bisayan and Tagalog, e. g., *s-in-ulat* 'was written.' The particles *mi* and *min* in Cebuan probably bear the same relation to one another as the passive particles *gi* and *gin* below. In Hiliguayna reduplication is employed to denote present and future. The Samaro-Leytean present and future are to be compared with the Tagalog present with prefixed *na*, e. g., *nasulat*, which is a by-form of the regular present, e. g., *sungmusulat* or *sumusulat*.

¹ For an explanation of the probable nature of this *a*, cf. my paper, *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, p. 166.

² The Tagalog suffix *in* of the imperative and future of the *in* passive, e. g., *sulat-in*, *susulat-in*, is not identical with this infix-prefix *in*, which is found in the preterite and present of all three passives, e. g., preterite, *s-in-ulat*, *i-s-in-ulat*, *s-in-ulat-an*. This is shown by the fact that the suffix *in* is represented by Bisayan *-on*, e. g., *sulat-on*, while the infix-prefix *in* remains unchanged, e. g., Hiliguayna *s-in-ulat*.

In the *pa* class the dialects have in general three tense forms, viz., present and preterite *napa-*, future *mapa-*, imperative *pa-*, though *mapa-* and *pa-* may be used promiscuously for either future or imperative. In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean present and future have also reduplicated forms.

In the passive the dialects differ in the use of reduplication, as in the active, and also in the form of the essential passive particles.

The preterite of all three passives, *on*, *i*, *an*, is indicated in Cebuan by a prefix *gi*, in Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean by a prefix *gin* or, as in Tagalog, by a prefix-infix *in*, e. g.:

Cebuan.	Hil. and Sam.-Ley.
<i>in</i> pass. <i>gi-buhat</i>	<i>gin-buhat</i> , <i>b-in-uhat</i>
<i>i</i> " <i>gi-buhat</i>	<i>i-gin-buhat</i> , <i>i-b-in-uhat</i>
<i>an</i> " <i>gi-buhat-an</i>	<i>gin-buhat-an</i> , <i>b-in-uhat-an</i> .

In Cebuan *gin* may be used instead of *gi* in the *i* passive, and forms with *in* seem also to occur. In Cebuan the present is identical with the preterite, except in the *i* passive, where the present has only forms with *gi*. In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean the presents of all three passives have reduplication, e. g., *ginbubuhat*, *binubuhat*, etc. In Hiliguayna instead of the forms like *ginbubuhat*, forms like *ginabuhat* may be used, *gina-* being a particle of the present formed from *gin-* like *naga-* from *nag-* (cf. above, p. 131).

The future has reduplication in all three passives in Samaro-Leytean; in Cebuan and Hiliguayna only in the *on* and *an* passives; e. g.:

Sam.-Ley.	Ceb. and Hil.
<i>bubuhat-on</i>	<i>bubuhat-on</i>
<i>i-bubuhat</i>	
<i>bubuhat-an</i>	<i>bubuhat-an</i> .

The future of the *i* passive of these last two dialects is either identical with the imperative, both taking prefixed *i-*, e. g., *i-buhat* 'do,' or the imperative takes *ig-*, the future, *iga-*, the *a* of which is to be explained like that of *gina* above, e. g., *ig-buhat*, *iga-buhat*. In Hiliguayna these forms with *g* are used especially when the subject is plural, or the action of the verb frequentative; in Cebuan, when the subject is the instrument or

cause of the action. In Samaro-Leytean this pluralizing *g*, although apparently not used in the verb, is found in the plural of certain adjectives, cf. above, p. 127.

In Cebuan and Hiliguayna, as in Tagalog, there are a number of impersonal imperative forms made with the suffixes *-a* and *-i*, belonging to the *on* and *an* passives respectively, which are used when the agent of the verbal action is not expressed, e. g., *buhat-a*, *buhat-i*. In Samaro-Leytean these forms are used as the regular personal imperative instead of the forms with the suffixes *on* and *an*.

The verbs with prefix *maha-* or *mahi-* make their passive by changing *maha-* or *mahi-* to *hi-* in imperative and future, to *hin-* in preterite and present, e. g., *hi-gugma*, *hin-gugma* 'love.' In Samaro-Leytean the regular passive formation with *paha-* or *pahi-* is also used, *gin* being prefixed in preterite and present, e. g., *gin-paha-gugma*.

The verbal ideas 'to have (something indefinite)' and indefinite 'there is' are expressed in Bisayan in general, as in Tagalog, by the particle *may*; Cebuan uses also the particles *duna*, *aduna* in the same way. 'To be (in a place)' is expressed in Hiliguayna by the particles *adi*, *yadi* 'be here,' *ada*, *yada*, *adto* 'be there,' or by the adverbs of place *didi*, *dinhi* 'here,' *dida*, *didto* 'there.' In Cebuan the corresponding verbal particles are *nia*, *ania* 'be here' *naa*, *anaa*; *tua*, *atua* 'be there,' the corresponding adverbs, *dinhi*, *diha*, *dito*: the particles are used only when the tense is present, otherwise the adverbs are employed. In Samaro-Leytean a conjugation of three tense forms is made up on the basis of similar particles and adverbs of place, as follows:

	'to be here.'	'to be there.'
Pres.	<i>iini</i>	<i>iito</i> , <i>aadto</i> , <i>aada</i> ¹
Pret.	<i>nakanhi</i>	<i>nakadto</i> , <i>nakada</i>
Fut.	<i>makanhi</i>	<i>makadto</i> , <i>makada</i> .

'To have (something definite)' is expressed in the same way as 'to be (in a place)' in the various dialects,² the particles and

¹ No doubt cognate with Ilokan *adda* 'there is,' 'to be (in a place),' Malay *ada* 'to be, have.'

² No statement with reference to this construction is made in Figueroa's grammar of the dialect of Samar and Leyte, but doubtless it is the same as in the other dialects.

adverbs meaning 'to be here' being used when the possessor is of the first person, the others when the possessor is of the second or third, a distinction also being usually made here between the persons, the forms which mean 'there (near to both speaker and person addressed)' being used for the second, those meaning 'there (over yonder),' for the third; for example, in Cebuan, *naa*, *anaa* are regularly employed with the second person, *tua*, *atua* with the third.

The conjunction 'and' is in Cebuan *ug*, in Hiliguayna *kag* (perhaps a combination of *ka* and *ug*), in Samaro-Leytean *ug*, except in compound numerals, where it is *kag*, e. g., *napolo kag usa* 'ten and one, eleven.'

SYNTAX.

The ligature seems to be regularly omitted in Samaro-Leytean between a prepositive possessive pronoun and its noun, e. g., *an imo sangkay* 'thy companion,' and between a demonstrative and the plural particle *manġa*, e. g., *ini manġa tao* 'these men.' In Hiliguayna also, the ligature may be omitted in the first case. The omission of the ligature after the possessives is perhaps due to the fact that many of them end in *n*, e. g., *akon* 'my,' *amon* 'our,' with which final the Samaro-Leytean ligature *-n* would coalesce, and to which the Hiliguayna *-ng* might be assimilated, as quite frequently in Tagalog.

In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean the oblique case of the demonstrative may be preceded by *sa*, the oblique case of the definite article, as an additional sign of the case, e. g., *sa sini* 'to this.'

In Samaro-Leytean the personal article *si* is often prefixed to the personal pronouns of the first and second person, e. g., *si ako* 'I,' *si ikaw* 'thou.'

The representation in Bisayan of the combination of two personal pronouns or a personal pronoun and a noun which in English are connected by the conjunction 'and,' resembles in general the Tagalog construction, where the plural of the pronoun of the higher rank (even though it is singular in English) reckoning in the order of first, second, and third person, followed by the genitive of the other pronoun or of the noun, is employed. The representation varies somewhat, not only among the various principal dialects, but even within the dialects them-

selves, the first element of the combination, however, being regularly plural. 'Juan and I' is variously rendered as follows:

Cebuan	{	Dapitan,	<i>kami ni Juan</i>
		Mindanao,	<i>kumi kan Juan</i>
		Cebu and Bohol,	<i>si Juan ug ako</i>
		Hiliguayna,	<i>kami ni Juan</i>
			<i>kami si Juan</i>
			<i>kumi kag si Juan</i>
		Samaro-Leytean,	<i>si kami nġan si Juan.</i>

The most original of these constructions is probably that with the genitive of the second element, viz., *kami ni Juan*; in Mindanao instead of the genitive the oblique is employed; in Hiliguayna the nominative may be used as well as the genitive, and may even be connected with the preceding pronoun by *kag* 'and,' this last construction being probably due to a mixing of the original native construction and one modelled after the more simple Spanish construction, i. e., the conjunction 'and' is used to connect the two elements, but the pronoun remains in the plural. In Cebu and Bohol the Spanish construction has completely replaced the native. In Samaro-Leytean the first element stands in the plural according to the regular native construction, the second element in the nominative except when it is a common noun, which stands in the genitive, e. g., *si kami nġan san panday* 'the carpenter and I'; the two elements are always connected by a particle *nġan*, the origin of which is not clear; it may perhaps be a double ligature, viz., *nġa-n*.

In Bisayan in general the subject of a sentence may be followed by the definite article before the predicate, often in the sense of a compound relative 'that which,' 'the one that,' e. g., Hiliguayna *ako ang nagsulat* 'I am the one who wrote.' In Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean the regular article *ang* and *an* may be replaced by the forms *ing* and *in* respectively.¹

The subject of the particle *may* 'to have' stands in general in the nominative as in Tagalog, e. g., *may bino ako* (nom.) 'I have wine.' In Cebuan, however, it may also be put in the genitive, as it regularly is in the corresponding Ilokan construc-

¹ Identical with *ing*, the nominative of the article in Pampanga.

tion,¹ being construed as a possessive adjective modifying the object of particle, e. g., *may áko-ng* (gen.) *bino*.

In Cebuan in the constructions with *wala*, the negative of *may* and *ahuna* 'to have,' a particle *y* is regularly used before the object just as the ligature is in Tagalog.² The same construction is found in Hiliguayna with the corresponding particle *wala*, *wa*, though here the *y* seems often to have become an integral portion of the particle, especially in the case of the shorter form *wa*. In Samaro-Leytean the negative of *may* is regularly *waray*, with inseparable *y*.

The principal Bisayan dialects, then, are the Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Harayan, and Samaro-Leytean. These differ little in their phonology, and the differences in morphology and syntax, while numerous and important, are often comparatively slight. In many cases, indeed, these differences are rather lexical than morphological and syntactical. The dialects also differ to a greater or less extent in their vocabularies, but the discussion of this subject must be reserved for future treatment.

¹ E. g., *adda arak-ko* (gen.).

² Cf. my paper *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, p. 168.

An Early Form of Animal Sacrifice.--By CRAWFORD H. TOY, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

MANY recent writers on religious customs have been disposed to refer all animal sacrifice to some one conception. The usual theories on the subject may be reduced to three: 1. that the victim is a substitute for the sacrificer, the sin of the latter calling for death at the hands of the deity; 2. that the victim is a gift to the god, intended to avert his anger and procure his friendship; 3. that the essence of sacrifice is the communal partaking of the body and blood of the sacred victim by the god and the man, whereby, since the animal is allied in blood to both these persons, the bond of kinship between them is strengthened and the natural friendliness of the deity is revived or increased. The view that all sacrifice is one in origin is based doubtless on the well-founded belief in the psychological unity of mankind. But psychological unity by no means carries with it unity of religious methods. The fundamental religious fact—the desire to be on good terms with supernatural Powers—may be supposed to exist the world over; but it is conceivable that different communities have adopted different modes of entering into relation with them. The diversity in the creations of savages is a familiar fact—witness their languages, so wonderfully wrought out and so different one from another in details. Along with unity in human life diversity must be admitted, and in the present stage of investigation it will be wise not to insist on deriving all sacrifice from a single source. One set of observances, at any rate, suggests a conception of sacrifice somewhat different from those mentioned above.

In his *Head-Hunters*, Mr. Haddon describes the Borneo ceremony of divination by means of a pig's liver (p. 336). The ministrant, touching the live pig with a lighted brand, prayed to the god, and then asked the pig to give the message to the god, who was requested to make known his will by means of the pig's liver. During the address the ministrant kept his hand on the animal to secure its attention; it was then killed and the liver

examined. Mr. Haddon adds that the ceremony is a common one in Borneo (Sarawak). On all important occasions information is sought from the pig—it is told not to mislead the suppliants and to convey their message to the god, and it is killed as soon as the address is finished lest the message should be altered by the pig if it knew it was to be killed. An elaborate request to the animal on the occasion of the naming of a child is reported by Mr. Haddon at length (p. 354): “O Balli Boin [spiritual or divine pig] tell Balli Penyalong [the god of child-naming] the reason of our meeting here to-day. We are here to name my child, and we request you to convey our message to Balli Penyalong . . . We trust you will approve of our performances, and we hope that blessings will come to all present who meet as friends. We also request Balli Penyalong to let us know by the inspection of your liver whether the name which we intend to give this child is suitable . . . We also employ you, O pig, for another little ceremony to which, of course, you will have no objection” [this was the reconciling of two peoples who had been quarrelling]. After the animal was killed, its blood was smeared on the breasts of the quarrellers and others of the spectators. Mr. Haddon is of opinion that in this ceremony the soul of the pig is directly addressed, and is supposed to be liberated by the death of the animal and to convey the message to the god. The natives appear, in fact, not to distinguish, so far as regards this function, between the animal and its soul—the soul is conceived of as the personality—it survives the death of the animal, goes to the other world (the world of the gods) and there enters into communication with the gods, to whom it is related in nature.

The Ainu bear ceremony seems to involve the same order of ideas. Mr. Batchelor's account of the ceremony is as follows:¹ A cub having been caught and fed till he is of the proper age, the owner invites many guests to the feast. The occasion is a great one—men and women come attired in their best, and the air is full of gaiety. The invitation runs in this form: ‘I am

¹ John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, 1901. Mr. Batchelor is the latest writer on the religion of the Ainu; he spent nearly twenty-five years among them, and seems to have been an intelligent and careful observer. Somewhat different descriptions of the bear ceremony are quoted by Mr. Frazer (in his *Golden Bough*, ch. iii) from various writers.

about to sacrifice the dear little divine thing who lives in the mountains. Come to the feast—we will unite in the pleasure of sending the god away.' The first step is an act of worship to all the gods. Then a man approaches the cage in which the bear is confined, asks pardon for what they are about to do, tells the bear that a great honor is to be conferred upon it, and adds that large provision of food and drink will be sent along with it. The following address (or one like it) is then made to the animal: 'O divine one, thou wast sent into the world for us to hunt. We worship thee—hear our prayer. We have brought thee up with care because we love thee. Now that thou art grown big, we are about to send thee to thy father and mother—when thou comest to them please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been. Please come to us again, and we will sacrifice thee.' After this the bear is worried and finally killed—the head is cut off and taken to the east window (the sacred spot of the house), food and drink (including a cup of its own boiled flesh) and sacred shavings (*inao*) are placed before it, and it is bidden go to its parents, make a feast for many divine guests, and come back to be sacrificed again. The 'cup of the feast' (called also the 'cup of offering') containing the bear's flesh, is then saluted and every person present, young or old, takes a little of its contents, and in like manner the flesh of the animal is partaken of by all. The bear's head is preserved and worshipped; the spirit of the animal is believed to dwell in it.

Not only the bear but, according to Mr. Batchelor (p. 432), the eagle also is worshipped by the Ainu and dispatched in sacrifice to the world of the gods with a message of thanks to them for having governed the world of men; and it is asked to come back to earth.

Certain peoples of Eastern Siberia (the Gilyaks and the Goldi) are said to have a bear ceremony identical in some respects with that of the Ainu.¹ The bear is treated with respect and affection, in some cases worshipped, its flesh eaten, and its head regarded as sacred and as possessed of supernatural powers. The reports say nothing of sending a message by it to a god, but the close similarity of the procedure in other

¹ The authorities for this statement are given by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ch. iii.

points to that of the Ainu leads one to suspect that such a message is sent.

In these ceremonies the victim is regarded as divine—a conception found abundantly elsewhere, belonging, indeed, to the fundamentals of savage religion. In Borneo and among the Ainu a principal motive (if not the chief motive) in killing the animal is to send it as a messenger to a god or as a representative of the people or of the sacrificer in the divine community of the other world. There is no trace of the conception of expiation of sin. The situation presupposed is that of general friendliness between the gods and man, the former, however, needing to be informed of men's wishes, and to be won over to their side. A natural method of securing the gods' good will is to send an ambassador to them, just as would be done if it were desired to conciliate a great man. The messenger must be either a human being or a beast. There are examples of the choice of a man or a woman for this purpose, but common human kindness would naturally lead to the selection of a lower animal. Besides, the messenger must be divine, and in early religion it is the beast rather than man that is commonly regarded as divine.

Such a ceremony originates of necessity in a time when the conception of the relation between gods and men is crude. The god differs from the man only in being more powerful—the desires of the man are confined to the procuring of some bodily good. If the custom continue, the progress of society will invest it with a different character. The beast will cease to be regarded as a god, and will subside into an accessory, while the god proper will grow into larger proportions ethical and physical, and the distance between man and god will be increased. It will then be no longer consonant with the dignity of the deity that an ambassador should be dispatched to him from men—the animal will be thought of rather as a gift, or there will be a vague sense of its sacredness and of the potency of the solemn ceremony connected with it. Its blood and its flesh also will continue to be regarded as having magical power.

Possibly an attenuated survival of the Borneo and Ainu conceptions is to be recognized in the Zuni turtle ceremony described by Mr. Cushing. A solemn procession of men, headed by a priest, went to the sacred city near which was the

home of the deceased members of the tribe, and returned some days later bearing baskets filled with turtles. One of the animals, brought into the house in which Mr. Cushing was a guest, was received with every mark of reverence and affection, sacred meal was scattered on its back as it crawled about, it was addressed as a kinsman, as, indeed, the embodiment of a dead relation. The man who brought it explained that, though it was to be killed the next day, it would not die, could not die—it would only go to the home of its brothers. The next day, with prayers and offerings, it was killed, its flesh and bones were deposited in the river, and its shell was preserved in the house.¹ The ceremony involves a belief in the identity of turtles and human beings—a particular instance of the widespread belief in the identity of the man and his totem animal or some animal connected with him. We may, with Mr. Frazer, call it a case of transmigration.² Mr. Frazer also suggests that the object of killing the turtle is “to keep up communication with the other world in which the souls of the departed are believed to be assembled in the form of turtles.” This seems probable, though Mr. Cushing’s narrative gives nothing definite on this point. The procedure certainly gains in intelligibility if we suppose it to be the survival of a ceremonial message to the other world.

There are also certain resemblances between the bear ceremony of the Ainu and the Uncpapa white buffalo festival described by Miss Fletcher.³ The following points may be noted: To kill a white buffalo ensures for the slayer a blessing from the gods [a special ground for this view is not stated in Miss Fletcher’s report—the belief appears to point to a time when, as among the Ainu, the act of killing was itself significant]; the man who has killed the animal makes a feast and invites a large number of persons, soup is prepared from the scrapings of the hide, and is all eaten by the men; the next day, at a second feast, the skin is rubbed with buffalo liver and

¹ F. H. Cushing, *My Adventures in Zuñi*, in *The Century of May*, 1883.

² *Golden Bough*, ch. iii.

³ A. C. Fletcher, *Indian Ceremonies*, in *Report of the Peabody Museum of Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, Cambridge, 1883; also as separate pamphlet, Salem, 1884.

what is obvious in the Borneo and Ainu rituals, namely, that the victim is sent as ambassador to the divine Powers.

Remoter resemblances to these early rituals may be recognized in the Mexican custom of treating a human being for some time as a god, surrounding him or her with every luxury, then, after the slaughter, preserving a part of the body of the victim as a sacred and powerful thing.

The ambassadorial feature is not the only one in the ceremonies described above. There is the partaking of the flesh of the victim—the well-known procedure that has been made the basis of a theory of sacrifice. It appears to be here rather an accessory than an essential of sacrifice—an economic procedure, with a twofold purpose: to use the good food thus provided, and to gain the qualities of the sacred animal. But this theory demands a separate examination and must be dismissed here with this bare mention.

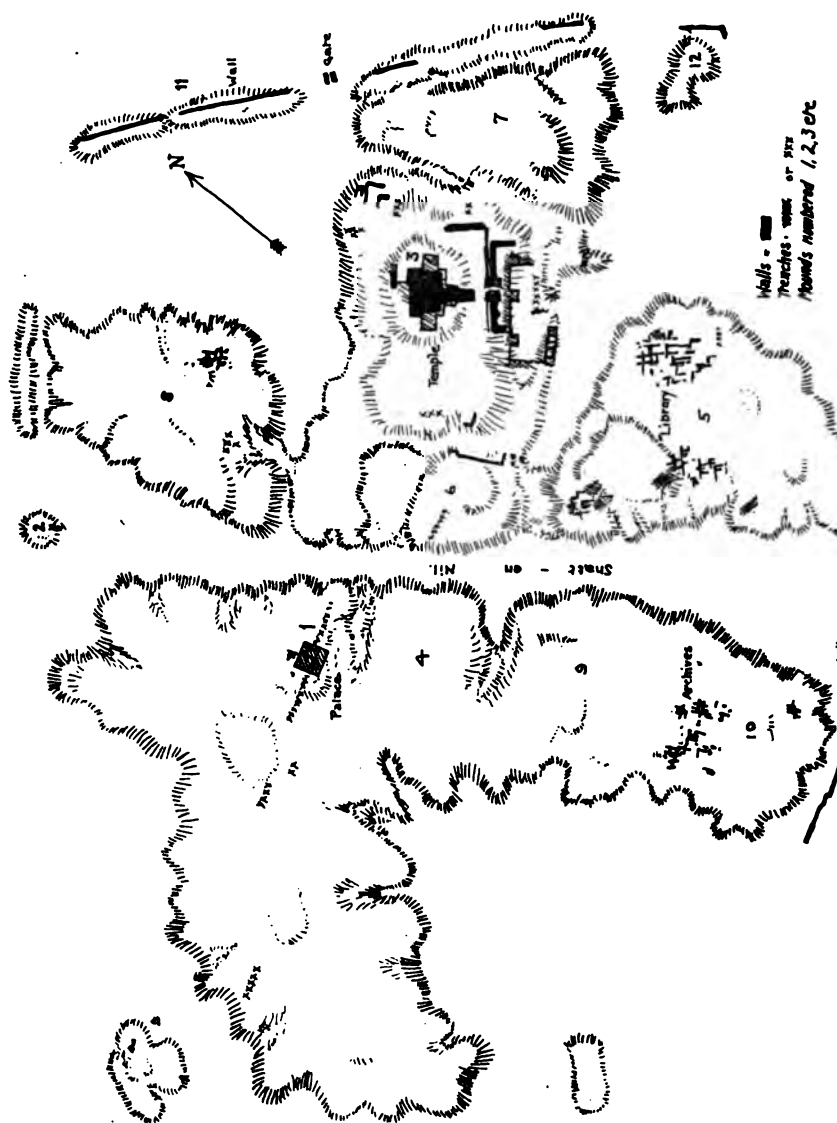
A message supposes high gods—the ambassadorial sacrifice is found only where such gods exist, that is, in a relatively advanced religious stage. It passes gradually into the more refined conception of mediation, and in the higher religions the mediators are gods, and the human ministrants of the ceremonies of mediation are priests. Only faint traces of the ancient view linger in civilized cults.

The Nippur Library.—By Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, New York City.

At the southeastern extremity of the Nippur mounds lies an isolated hill of triangular shape, estimated to cover an area of about thirteen acres. At its highest point, at the northwestern extremity, this hill rises about forty-five feet above plain level, having an average height of from twenty to twenty-five feet. It is on the eastern side of the depression of the Shatt-en-Nil, which divides the mounds of Nippur into two parts, the same side on which the temple lies. It is separated from the temple—the next hill to the north (3)—by a depression which seems to be an arm of the Shatt-en-Nil, and bears locally the same designation. This hill is designated as V. in my reports and in my *Nippur* (5 on the accompanying plan¹), the numbers indicating the order in which excavations were commenced, and designated IV. in Hilprecht's latest publications, although in his earlier publications he followed my numbering. It is also called "Tablet Hill." In this hill we found the greater part of the tablets discovered in the first campaign (1888-89). These tablets were found exclusively in the northwestern nose of this hill, at all depths. The description of a few of the finds will show the conditions under which they were discovered :

Close to the surface in the second trench which we ran, in February, 1889, we found sixteen tablets, ranging in date over a period of not less than 2000 years, from an archaic period, antedating 2500 B.C., to the time of Cambyzes, at the close of the sixth century B.C. In another place some tablets were found in a tomb of unbaked brick, by the side of a tub-shaped Babylonian clay coffin. A little over thirty feet beneath the surface (thirty-four feet beneath the highest point of the mound) and a little more than nine feet above the plain level, three tablets of the Hammurabi period were found in a jar, the only discovery of tablets in a jar made in that mound in the first

¹ For the accompanying plan I am indebted to Mr. Clarence S. Fisher, who accompanied the last expedition as architect.



Drawn by Clarence S. Fish

PLAN OF NIPPUR TO SHOW ESPECIALLY THE SITE OF THE "LIBRARY"
ON TABLET HILL.

two campaigns. In a room plastered with tinted stucco, apparently belonging to a house of the better class, were a quantity of jars containing fish bones, grape seeds, grain and the like, such as were ordinarily found in connection with burials, and among these a number of tablets of different periods. In an excavation around the corner of this northwestern nose, bordering on the Shatt-en-Nil canal, we found a number of rather large, well baked, very light-colored tablets of the Hammurabi period, looking as though they had just been made and never used or handled.¹

In the second campaign, 1889-90, we excavated a considerable portion of the face of this hill along the edge of the Shatt-en-Nil canal. These larger excavations enabled us to identify the strata and especially the buildings of the Hammurabi period, which were the most important and best preserved in that part of the mounds. These buildings had been destroyed by fire. Their date was determined by the number of tablets of the Hammurabi period found in them. This Hammurabi stratum lay about twenty-two to twenty-eight or nine feet below the surface of that part of the mound. In general the tablets excavated on this hill were found lying loose in the earth or confused among buildings to which they did not belong, along with burial remains, coffins, jars and the like, so that I concluded that they had been buried by their owners beneath the floors of the rooms in which those owners lived. Some, however, as in the case of the buildings of the Hammurabi period above referred to, seemed to belong in the rooms where they were found. There were no large deposits of tablets at any one place. They were found singly or in little nests, not placed on wooden shelves or lying in numbers on clay shelves or benches.

Writing in 1897, as a result of my own investigation and the investigations of Prof. Hilprecht made up to that date, I reported in *Nippur*² that in general the tablets found in the excavations conducted in that hill "were of the ordinary so-called contract variety, transactions of barter, sale and the like." Besides the excavations along the Shatt-en-Nil, on the southwestern face of this hill, trial trenches were also run, in the

¹ For further details see *Nippur*, vol. ii., pp. 197 ff.

² Vol. ii., p. 202.

second campaign, at various points all over this hill. One of these trenches was designed to cut the hill through from one side to the other, thus giving us a complete section. This trench, however, was never completed. Almost nothing in the way of construction was found, and only the trenches at the northwestern nose and along the edge of the canal in the upper part of the southwestern face yielded tablets or other objects in appreciable numbers. In March, 1890, work on this hill was stopped and no further work was undertaken there until the winter of 1899-1900, almost ten years later.¹ At that time the conditions in the trenches on Temple Hill were such that it was necessary temporarily to abandon work there. The men were accordingly carried across the arm of the Shatt-en-Nil and set to work in one of my old trenches toward the northeast corner of Tablet Hill. No finds of any importance were made until about the middle of January, 1900, and then Haynes began to discover tablets in large numbers. According to his account this deposit of tablets was by far the largest discovered at any place on this hill or any other hill in the Nippur complex of ruin mounds. Under date of January 16th, he reports "thirty sound tablets," and "many large fine fragments;" January 17th, "twenty-eight sound tablets" and "very many large fine fragments;" January 13th, "thirty-three sound tablets" and "a multitude of imperfect tablets;" January 19th, "forty-nine sound tablets" and "many fine fragments of tablets." Mrs. Haynes in her diary records that on January 14th, Sunday, twenty-three boxes of tablets were packed; on the 21st, twenty-five boxes; on the 28th, twenty-seven boxes; February 4th, twenty-six boxes. After this the number of tablets found was relatively small, and before the close of February this deposit of tablets was exhausted, and the men removed to another mound because no more tablets were forthcoming. The great bulk of the tablets found during these excavations were found eighteen to twenty-four feet below the surface of the mound (at that point) in a series of rooms toward the northeast center of Tablet Hill, marked Library on the accompanying plan. In these rooms such a large number of tablets were found together,

¹ Cf. Hilprecht, *Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, pp. 511 ff.

² Hilprecht, *Excavations*, pp. 509 f.

evidently having originally rested on shelves (they were unburned, but a fair proportion was whole and there were many large fragments) that Haynes believed himself to have found a library, and wrote to Hilprecht, then in quarantine at Bosrah, suggesting this possibility. Before Dr. Hilprecht's arrival, March 1st, 1900, all the tablets discovered in this supposed library had been already boxed, with the exception of about twenty specimens retained for his examination. After his arrival a small gang of men was employed on Tablet Hill for a brief period of time, but practically no more tablets were discovered. Such, I believe, is a correct statement of the excavations conducted in the southeastern triangular mound at Nippur, which has leaped into fame as the site of the "Temple Library."

Before the close of March, 1900, Prof. Hilprecht had formally adopted the theory that Haynes had discovered a Temple Library. He writes: "We have *definitely* found the Temple Library, and in the very mound which in 1889 I designated as the most probable place As I looked at the matter more closely, I was struck with the characteristic absence of contracts and I could very soon determine that the great mass (grosse Masse) of this unique find (17,200 tablets) was of a lexicographical and linguistic character, and that it contained astronomical, mathematical and religious texts, (hymns, prayers, etc.), letters, temple accounts, in large numbers (grosse Menge), whereby the character of a Temple Library is fixed and assured."¹

In 1903 Prof. Hilprecht published his *Explorations in Bible Lands during the 19th Century*, the greater part of which consisted of his contribution, "The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia." This portion of the work was republished in 1904 as an official publication of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series D., Researches and Treatises*. Part of the same ground was covered by a lecture entitled *Die Ausgrabungen der Universität*

¹ *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1900, No. 19, 20. *Sunday School Times*, May 5, 1900. In his later publications he gives the number of tablets as 28,000 and then as 24,000 from the literary and scientific part of the library, and 28,000 from the remaining part or parts.

von Pennsylvania im Bel-Tempel zu Nippur; also published in 1903, which, with a few slight changes, appeared in English in 1904 as an official publication of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, volume i., part II. of *The Transactions of the Department of Archaeology*, with the title *In the Temple of Bel at Nippur; A lecture delivered before German Court and University Circles*. These four publications, two longer, and two shorter, are in reality, therefore, but two publications. In all of them we have substantially the same description of the Temple Library, its discovery and its contents, with some slight variations in the figures illustrating the text.

According to his statements in these publications, on his first visit to Nippur in 1889 as a member of the first University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia, Hilprecht reached the conclusion, from an examination of the surface of the ground, that it was "extremely probable that the houses of the priests, their offices, school and library, must be looked for in the large triangular southeast mound, separated by a branch of the Shatt-en-Nil from the temple proper."¹ From a statement made a few pages further on, it would seem that he presented this theory to the director, requesting him to excavate the southeast mound, without result. About ten days later the director, failing to obtain satisfactory results and growing "uneasy as to the tangible results of the expedition I seized this opportunity to submit once more for his consideration my views, given above, concerning the topography of the northeast half of the ruins, pointing out that in all probability tablets would be found in that large isolated hill, which I believed to contain the residences of the priests and the temple library, and requested him to let me have about twenty men for a few days to furnish the inscribed material so eagerly sought after" (p. 309). It is a fact that at the date mentioned by Prof. Hilprecht, Feb. 11th, excavations were commenced in the northwestern nose of that mound, but he never submitted to the director any such theory as he here states, nor were the excavations commenced at his request or in any way under his control. No member of the expedition with whom I have been

¹ Hilprecht, *Excavations*, p. 307.

able to communicate has any recollection of a presentation by Dr. Hilprecht at that time of any such theory, and if in fact he had any such idea he kept it very carefully to himself both then and later.

He regarded the first expedition as a failure and a mistake. Nothing was found and nothing ever would be found at Nippur. Writing to me some months after the conclusion of our first campaign, October, 1889, he says: "The only good things [discovered by us in the first campaign] are the text of Naram Sin (three lines) and the astronomical tablet," neither of which, so far as we know, was found in Tablet Hill. This is in striking contrast with the declarations regarding the results of the first expedition contained in the work above referred to (p. 310), where he speaks of the "seemingly inexhaustible mines" of tablets, "the large mass" of which was "written in old Babylonian characters not later than the first dynasty of Babylon, about 2000 B.C." In this description he states that three Ashur-etil-ilani tablets "of unusual historical interest" were discovered in Tablet Hill in the first year. They were in fact discovered in quite another part of the Nippur mounds (hill 8 on the plan). This is worthy of note as illustrating how in his imagination, since 1900, everything has gravitated towards Tablet Hill and the "Library."

During Haynes' first expedition, 1893-96, I was "scientific director," in the sense that I prepared and transmitted the directions under which Dr. Haynes worked, and he reported directly to me, until 1895. During that period Dr. Hilprecht at the home end was also reporting to me the results of his examinations of tablets and other objects found, especially so far as anything occurred which might guide us in the work in the field. Some time in 1895 Dr. Hilprecht succeeded me in the direction of the excavations. Up to that time Dr. Hilprecht seems to have discovered no literary remains from Tablet Hill or from any other part of Nippur, and no instructions were given to Haynes to excavate in Tablet Hill, which accordingly, at the close of the third expedition, remained as I had left it in March, 1890. Dr. Hilprecht was the "scientific director" of the excavations in the last campaign, Dr. Haynes, as before, having the immediate direction of the work in the field. Dr. Hilprecht asserts in his volume (pages 430, 431)

that, having concluded that the hill contained the library, he directed Haynes to concentrate his efforts principally on this mound, "which he had not touched at all during the third campaign," and another mound in which lay the Court of Columns (hill 1 in the plan). As already stated, Haynes did, in fact, commence to excavate in the southeastern mound toward the close of 1899, taking the occasion of unfavorable weather and general conditions in the temple excavations to remove his men and put them on the nearest convenient point.

At the risk of tediousness I have related these things, because they have a distinct bearing on the genesis of the temple library idea. It would seem that the idea of the library had not been developed before the close of the third expedition, even supposing it to have been developed between that and the fourth expedition. I have stated that in a letter to Dr. Hilprecht at Bosrah, Haynes suggested the possibility that the great mass of tablets found by him in January and February, 1900, might be the Temple Library. Hilprecht says in his narrative (p. 445) that, after reaching the mound, March 1st, 1900, he "ascertained through a study of representative tablets, an inspection of the rooms in which they had been discovered, and a brief continuation of the work in the trenches, that the 'Tablet Hill' actually represented the site of the temple library, as I had maintained for so many years," and that he then suspended the excavations at that place. He says (pp. 512-513), with regard to the excavations conducted by Haynes in Tablet Hill, that "two large sections were excavated in the eastern and western parts of the mound respectively. Both yielded large quantities of exclusively ancient tablets at practically the same low level, and only single tablets or small nests of old-Babylonian and neo-Babylonian documents mixed in the upper strata. From this general result it became evident that the library doubtless continued to exist in some form or another at the old site through the last two thousand years of Babylonian history, but it also followed that the large mass of tablets was already covered under rubbish at the close of the third millennium. The period in which the older library fell into disuse could be fixed even more accurately;" and then he proceeds to give his evidence that "the tablet-filled rooms and corridors" of the older library "were in ruins before Hammurabi ascended the

throne of Babylon." The "older library" is, according to him, that which Haynes discovered at a depth of from twenty to twenty-four feet below the surface, in the northeastern center of the mound, and, as he also asserts here, at the same level on the western side of the mound. A plan of the rooms of the northeastern portion of this older library is given in the text (p. 523) with an account of the way in which the books were deposited and found, how they were preserved from damp, the nature of the shelves used, sometimes of wood, sometimes of clay, etc. This northeast portion of the Temple Library was, according to Hilprecht (p. 524), "a combined library and school" as "was determined immediately after an examination of the contents of the unearthed tablets and fragments." It was this portion of the library that included the "more scientific works, the tablets for religious edification and books of reference," as well as "the many mathematical, astronomical, medical, historical, and linguistic tablets recovered;" besides "hymns and prayers, omens and incantations, mythological and astrological texts" (p. 529). The description of the contents of this "library" is not in all places absolutely clear. There are passages which refer positively to Haynes' discovery of what Hilprecht calls the "older library." There are other passages which might possibly be interpreted as referring to later strata, but at least all refer to the excavations in Tablet Hill, and in the northeastern portion of that hill. From this is carefully differentiated "the business and administrative department established in the 'library'" (p. 532), which occupied "the southwest rooms of the mound" (p. 524), "the school and the technical library" being "in the rooms nearest to the temple," that is, "within a comparatively small radius in and around the central rooms of the northeast portion."

The description contained in *Die Ausgrabungen im Bel-Tempel zu Nippur*, and its English translation, *In the Temple of Bel at Nippur*, are substantially the same.

There are, accompanying the text in these three publications, in all eight half-tone or photographic reproductions of the objects found in that part of the library described as the literary, scientific and school section of the library. These are (1) "an astronomical tablet from the temple library" (not contained in the German publication); (2 and 3) multiplication tables, to

illustrate the way in which the scholars were taught mathematics in the school section of the library (one of these occurs only in the German publication, the other in all three publications); (4) a drawing by a temple scholar (in the German publication only); (5) a bas-relief, "Beltis leading a worshipper" (*Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*); (6) clay bas-relief, "Lutanist surrounded by animals" (in all publications); (7) "a hexagonal clay prism" (not in *The Excavations in Babylonia and Assyria*); (8) "a round practice tablet" (in the German publication only). There are also some descriptions and cuts of copies of tablets which do not profess to be facsimiles. These are very few in number and not readily identifiable, and may therefore be omitted.

1. The astronomical tablet, as shown by museum marks and admitted by Dr. Hilprecht, was not dug up by us in Nippur at all. It was purchased from an antiquity dealer, Khabaza, in Baghdad, by Prof. Robert Francis Harper, for the expedition, in January 1889, eleven years before Haynes made his discovery or any tablets had been found in that portion of Tablet Hill, and a month before the mounds of Nippur had been touched at all. There is every reason for supposing that this tablet came from one of the northern ruins, Babylon, Abu Habba or Borsippa. There is absolutely nothing in the tablet itself to determine its *provenance*, the few characters there are being quite illegible, and the astronomical figure, a seven-rayed star in a circle, not absolutely identifying the locality, although it might be supposed to suggest an origin from Abu Habba, ancient Sippara.¹

2-3. One of the multiplication tables, which appears in all the publications, was dug up, as the museum mark shows, by me in the second expedition, in April 1890, that is, a month after we had abandoned work on Tablet Hill. We were at that time conducting excavations on the further or western side of the western mounds, across the Shatt-en-Nil (hill 10) from Tablet Hill.

The other, which appears only in the German publication, is shown by the museum mark (it was catalogued in 1899) to have

¹ An examination of the Khabaza tablets by Dr. Hermann Ranke shows that most of those the *provenance* of which can be certainly determined from the text, came from Abu Habba (Sippara).

been purchased by Noorian in 1889. It is part of a collection with regard to which we have as positive proof as can be obtained in the case of bought collections, that it came from Abu Habba, where Scheil, in his excavations, later discovered a considerable number of multiplication tablets of the same general character.

4. The "Drawing of a Temple Scholar" is described in Dr. Hilprecht's German lecture (p. 59) as one of a series of tablets in these words: "Zeichnenunterricht wurde ebenfalls erteilt. Ich kenne eine Reihe von Tafeln, auf denen sich gerade und schiefe Linien, Zickzacks, Karos, Lattenmuster und ähnliche Figuren finden. Dann schritt man zum freien Handzeichnen nach Vorlagen und der Natur, wobei unbegabte Schüler sich bisweilen ganz Schreckliches leisteten (Abb. 41)."

This passage, without the illustration, appears in the Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, *In the Temple of Bel at Nippur* (p. 112), in these words: "Instruction in drawing was likewise given. We have a whole series of tablets on which there are straight and oblique lines, zigzags, lattice-work, and similar forms. Then they advanced to free-hand drawing from patterns or from nature, with sometimes rather amusing results on the part of untalented pupils. Some of these drawings may represent caricatures." Evidently the same tablet is referred to again without any illustration in *Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* (p. 527), as follows: "The course in art led gradually up to free-hand drawing from nature, and probably included also lessons in clay modelling and in glyptics and sculpture (seal cylinders, bas-reliefs and statues). Several fragments of unbaked tablets exhibited portions of animals and trees more or less skilfully incised in clay. One bird was executed very poorly." In reality, as even a cursory examination of the cut in the German publication will show, the object is a fragment of an archaic stone vase, and the work is not practice or school work. The original is said to be in the Museum of Constantinople. The University of Pennsylvania has a photograph of this object, with a note by Haynes recording the fact that it is the photograph of a fragment of a stone vase. Furthermore, although dug up at Nippur by the fourth expedition, it was not found in Tablet III, as is plain from the date of its discovery, before October 1899.

5 and 6. Both of these clay bas-reliefs were dug up at Nippur during the fourth expedition; but, like the preceding, both of them were dug up before work had been begun on Tablet Hill. They were in the hands of the architect of the expedition as early as October 1899, before any work had commenced on Tablet Hill. They could not, therefore, have come from the temple library at that place.¹

7. The hexagonal clay prism was discovered in the third expedition, conducted by Dr. Haynes, and in this expedition, as stated above, in Dr. Hilprecht's own words, no excavations were conducted on Tablet Hill. At what part of the mounds it was discovered is not clear, but this much is certain: that it was not found in the northeast section of the so-called library nor on Tablet Hill at all.

8. The same is true of the round practice tablet.

In other words, of the eight illustrations which, from the text, would appear to be illustrations of the "older temple library" in the northeast section of the hill, that is, that portion of the library which was destroyed before the time of Hammurabi and the remains of which were discovered some twenty to twenty-four feet beneath the surface of the ground by Haynes, not a single one represents an object found in that group of rooms or even on Tablet Hill, and two did not come from Nippur at all.

That with which I have so far dealt is the 'literary and scientific library and the school,' according to Prof. Hilprecht's statements. It is also called by him the "older library" or the "ancient library," that which belonged to the period antedating the Elamite conquest. So, for instance, on page 515 he says: "As nearly the whole of the excavated material from the ancient library is literary and scientific in its character, the tablets, with but few exceptions, are unbaked. They consequently have suffered not only from the hands of the Elamites, but also from the humidity of the soil to which they were exposed for more than four thousand years." On page 520 he says that: "the whole area occupied by the large triangular

¹ Two other art objects referred to by Hilprecht in connection with these bas-reliefs, a hog and a buffalo (*Excavations*, p. 523), could not have come from the "library," as is clear from the date and place of discovery.

mound was included in the temple library and school of the city. The real Babylonian buildings, as far as excavated, may naturally be divided into a northeast and a southwest section. An enormous barrier of unexplored débris, 'pierced only by one large tunnel and a few branch tunnels,' lies at present between the two quarters. The ground plan of the entire complex can therefore not yet be determined. Both wings consist of a number of chambers, corridors, fragmentary walls, streets, etc., found at the same low level as stated above." On page 521 he says that : "The excavated part of the southwest wing of the large complex comprises forty-four rooms and galleries, more or less connected with each other ; the northeast section about forty." On page 524 he says : "Though literary tablets in small numbers occurred almost everywhere in the hill, the large mass of them was found within a comparatively small radius in and around the central rooms of the northeast portion. On the other hand, there was not a single business document unearthed in that general neighborhood, while more than one thousand dated contracts, account lists, and letters came from the southwest rooms of the mound. It would therefore seem natural to conclude that in view of the doubtless large traffic carried on by boats on the Chebar, the business and administrative department of the temple was established on the bank of 'the great canal,' and the educational department—the school and the technical library—in the rooms nearest to the temple." No map of the excavations on this hill is given in his publications, by which it is possible to locate precisely the position of these two sections ; but this description shows conclusively that what he means by the southwest section was that part along the bank of the Shatt-en-Nil canal, which he assumes to be identical with the canal Chebar of the Book of Ezekiel. He gives but one specimen of the contents of this "business and administrative department established in the 'library', where contracts were executed, orders given out, income and expense lists kept, etc.", namely, the Lushtamar tablet. In *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* (p. 532), he describes this tablet as follows : "A number of letters were found intact. The envelopes, sealed and addressed more than four thousand years ago, immediately before the city was conquered and looted, were still unbroken. While writing these

lines one of those ancient epistles of the time of Amraphel (Gen. 14) lies unopened before me. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. One and the same seal cylinder had been rolled eleven times over the six sides of the clay envelope before it was baked with the document within. It bears the simple address, 'To Lushtamar.' Though sometimes curious to know the contents of the letter, I do not care to break the fine envelope and to intrude upon Mr. Lushtamar's personal affairs and secrets, as long as the thousands of mutilated literary tablets from the library require all my attention." In *Die Ausgrabungen im Bel-Tempel zu Nippur* (p. 62) he gives a cut of the Lushtamar tablet with the title: "Abb. 47. Brief im adressierten und gesiegelten Toncouvert (ca. 2300 v. Chr.)." This cut appears also in *The Temple of Bel at Nippur* (p. 116, cut 49), entitled "Letter in Clay Envelope. To Lushtamar." The letter print accompanying this illustration (p. 114) is as follows: "Of the numerous letters from the time of the first Babylonian and Cassite dynasties, taken partly from the library, partly from the business houses on the west bank of the Chebar, one dating from about 2300 B.C. may be briefly referred to (figure 49). It is at present still inside of its original clay envelope, which is sealed on each of the six sides twice with the same seal, containing name and profession of the sender, and is addressed on the front side 'to Lushtamar.' A new catastrophe befell Nippur before the letter could be sent off. Fully occupied at present by my laborious work on the temple library, I have, in spite of a very pardonable curiosity, not yet found time to open the envelope and acquaint myself with the private correspondence of Mr. Lushtamar." According to the museum marks put on this tablet by Prof. Hilprecht himself, it was purchased by him in the year 1889, with a sum of money given by Prof. Prince, and is part of the Prince collection now in the Museum in Philadelphia. It was, therefore, not dug out in the fourth expedition, in 1899-1900, and in all human probability never came from Nippur at all.¹ It is possible that the letter itself,

¹ There seems to be serious question whether this tablet does in fact belong to the Prince collection. It answers exactly to the description of a tablet in the Noorian collection, of the existence of which otherwise I can obtain no information. The Noorian collection came from Abu Habba, the Prince collection presumably from Babylon.

if it were opened, would show its *provenance*. For some reason Prof. Hilprecht and the authorities of the Philadelphia Museum have refused to have the envelope opened and the letter examined. But not only does this tablet not come from excavations conducted in 1899-1900 in the Tablet Hill at Nippur, it would appear from such reports as are available that no excavations were conducted on Tablet Hill along the banks of the Chebar canal in that campaign; that that section of the mound has in fact never been touched since it was abandoned in March, 1890, the trenches lying to-day as they were left at that date. In that case any evidence of the existence of this "administrative and business section of the library" must come from the excavations of the expedition of 1889-1890. As already stated, we found no considerable deposit of tablets at any place in the rooms on this part of the hills.

As already stated, the tablets found by us in Tablet Hill in the first and second expeditions were, in point of fact, tablets of a business character. They did not, however, constitute a library or even an archive. Among these tablets Dr. Hilprecht now asserts (p. 511 of *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*) that there were "several hundred contract tablets and temple lists written at the time of the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian rulers (about 700-400 B.C.), a few fragments of neo-Babylonian hymns, letters and syllabaries, a considerable number of business documents, dated in the reigns of the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon (about 2300-2100 B.C.), and more than twenty-five hundred literary fragments of the third pre-Christian millennium generally half effaced or otherwise damaged." As according to his statement on the same page the total number of tablets found on that hill during the excavations of 1889-1890 was only about 4,000, it would appear that the greater portion were of a literary character. This is so contrary to the reports of Dr. Harper and Dr. Hilprecht with regard to the tablets found in that hill in the first year and my own recollections of the character of the tablets found there in the second year, and further so little agrees with Dr. Hilprecht's present assertion that that part of the hill constituted the business and administrative section, that I venture to think the whole statement is erroneous. We may with confidence dismiss the "administrative and business section of the library," along the edge of the Chebar canal on Tablet Hill, as non-existent.

Besides the "ancient library" or the "old library," existing before the Elamite conquest, the remains of which Dr. Hilprecht supposes to have been found in Haynes' excavations, there were also, according to him, discoveries made on Tablet Hill which proved the existence at the same place of a library after the time of Hammurabi. This he calls the "later library" (p. 516). A considerable number of earlier tablets were "found in the rooms and rubbish of the upper strata," which formed part of this "later library," since "after the expulsion of the Elamites, when normal conditions began to prevail again in Shumer and Akkad, the priests of Nippur returned to their former quarters and rebuilt their schools and libraries at the place previously occupied. In levelling the ground they necessarily came upon many of the texts of the ruined library. Other earlier tablets, however, must have been added at a much later period as the result of regular excavations, as is shown by the following instance." The "following instance" to which reference is here made is one of the most interesting and fascinating records in Prof. Hilprecht's account of the "library": "Soon after my arrival at Nuffar in 1900, an important jar in terra-cotta was unearthed in the upper strata, of the southwestern wing of the library. It contained about twenty inscribed objects, mostly clay tablets, which constituted a veritable small Babylonian museum, the earliest of its kind known to us. These antiquities, already more or less fragmentary when deposited in the jar, are equally remarkable for the long period which they cover and the great variety of the contents of their inscriptions. They had apparently been collected by a neo-Babylonian priest or some other person connected with the temple library" (p. 516). He goes on to say (pp. 517-518) that: "the owner, or curator, of the little museum of Babylonian originals must have obtained his specimens by purchase or through personal excavations carried on in the ruined buildings of Bel's city. He doubtless lived in the sixth century, about the time of King Nabonidos, and was a man well versed in the ancient literature of his nation and deeply interested in the past history of Nippur." . . . "Every object contained in this vase is a choice specimen, and evidently was appreciated as such by the collector himself, who had spared no pains to secure as many representative pieces as possible. The first antiquity of

my Babylonian colleague which I examined was the fragment of a large tablet with the plan of houses, canals, roads, gardens, etc. I could well realize the delight he must have felt in acquiring this specimen. For even before having cleaned it, I recognized that it represented a section of the ground plan of the environments of Nippur,—a subjective view soon afterwards confirmed by discovering that the ideogram of “the city of Bêl,” *En-il-ki, i. e., Nippur*, was written in the middle of the fragment.” This description is accompanied by a half-tone reproduction of this plan (p. 513) entitled “Large fragment of a Clay Tablet containing the Plan of Nippur and its Environments.”

According to the statements of Mrs. Haynes, who kept a diary during the last expedition, which is practically the only record available of the place, method, etc., of the discovery of objects, this plan—it is a sufficiently striking object to secure identification—was actually discovered about, or a little more than five months prior to Dr. Hilprecht’s arrival at Nippur. It was not found in any jar. In fact it was too large to have been inserted into the ordinary jars in which tablets were discovered. It was not discovered on Tablet Hill, but in another part of the ruin mounds of Nippur, excavations on Tablet Hill not having been commenced at that time. This statement is corroborated by the architect of the expedition, Mr. C. S. Fisher, who states that shortly after his arrival at Nippur, somewhere in October, 1899, this plan was handed to him by Dr. Haynes to be cleaned and drawn; that the work was so delicate that he scarcely dared undertake it, and that it remained for a considerable time in his possession in his tent. Both these persons, Mrs. Haynes and Mr. Fisher, assert that they saw no such jar as that to which Dr. Hilprecht refers, and that to the best of their knowledge and belief no such jar was found at that time. It is difficult to see how such a jar could have been discovered without their knowledge. According to their statements, two jars were actually found. One of these, a sealed jar, was opened on a Sunday morning, a little after Dr. Hilprecht’s arrival on the grounds, in the presence of the members of the expedition, and proved to contain nine tablets and one small vase. The other jar, apparently referred to on page 512 of Prof. Hilprecht’s *The Excavations in Assyria and Baby-*

lonia ("a small jar of baked case tablets dated in the reigns of members of the first dynasty of Babylon, was unearthed at a higher level than the body of those ancient 'clay books'"), was found in the morning of the day on the afternoon of which Prof. Hilprecht arrived at Nippur, by or in the Shatt-en-Nil. It lay on its side, and very little earth had silted in. There were in it seven small baked case tablets. In his notes Dr. Haynes recounts this discovery, and then adds, apparently after Dr. Hilprecht had examined the tablets, that the tablets in this jar were of various dates.

In view of the unreliable statements with regard to this discovery of a jar in the "later library," the fact that no evidence is given of the discovery in the so-called "later library" anywhere of deposits of tablets on shelves or in rooms in any considerable number, and in view of the fact that in the excavations conducted at various points all over this mound in 1889 and 1890 occasional tablets or small nests of tablets from a period antedating Hammurabi onward were discovered, but in no case any considerable deposits or collections of tablets, I think we may confidently affirm that there is no evidence of the existence on this hill of a "later library," and that we rather have negative evidence to the contrary.

I may add that Dr. Hilprecht now affirms that at the Cassite period the temple library lay on the west side of the Shatt-en-Nil, at the southern end of the hills on that side. In point of fact considerable deposits of tablets of the Cassite period were found during the second, third and fourth expeditions at various points on the mounds west of the canal, from the neighborhood of the Court of Columns (hill 1), directly opposite the temple, southward. The distance from the farthest north of these deposits to the farthest south must be at least a quarter of a mile in a straight line. There were further found on that side of the canal, at different places, deposits of tablets of other periods, for instance the Murashu tablets of the Persian period (on hill 1), a considerable deposit of neo-Babylonian tablets (hill 10), another deposit of tablets of the time of the Ur dynasty (hill 10), etc. The relation to one another of the buildings in which these tablets were found and the nature of these buildings have not been made clear. The Cassite collection, found by me in the neighborhood of the Court of Columns, consisted of temple archives; the

Murashu tablets, on the other hand, were private documents. None of these collections in themselves nor all together constitute a library, nor are of the nature of a library, as that term has been commonly understood, and as it is in fact applied by Dr. Hilprecht in the publications to which I refer.

Now in conclusion, what was the nature of the tablets discovered by Dr. Haynes in the very large deposit found by him some twenty to twenty-four feet beneath the surface, in the northeast corner of the triangular mound at the southeastern end of the ruins, called Tablet Hill? Dr. Hilprecht declares that 17,200 or 23,000 or 24,000 (his statement is different in different publications) tablets were taken out of that "library" and "hurriedly examined" by him (p. 524). He had, in fact, about twenty specimen tablets to examine, the rest being boxed up. In all four or five hundred selected objects, for the most part tablets, were kept out from the various trenches opened in the expedition of 1899-1900, packed by themselves and sent out of the country. These were all or almost all in hand before Dr. Hilprecht's arrival. The other tablets were packed as they came, without labels or other marks by which their exact *provenance* could be determined. Tablets from quite different parts of the mound might be packed in the same box, if they were discovered at or about the same time. The condition of Dr. Haynes' notes with regard to the discovery of tablets is stated by Prof. Hilprecht on page 500 of his *Excavations*. He says: "Consequently our knowledge as to how and precisely where the tablets were found is extremely limited. As I must depend almost exclusively on Haynes' official entries and records for this important question, I deem it necessary to submit a specimen of my only written source of information for the time prior to my arrival, when most of the tablets were taken out of the ground. I quote literally from his diary:

'Jan. 16, 1900: 30 sound tablets of promise from a low level in "Tablet Hill." Many large fine fragments of tablets, 1 pentagonal prism, 7-3/4 inches long; its five sides from 1 to 2-1/6 inches wide. An hour after dark last evening one of our workmen's huts burned down so quickly that nothing was saved and the occupants barely escaped with their lives. By vigorous efforts the neighboring houses were saved.'

Prof. Hilprecht did not cause any of the boxes to be opened. The tablets were not re-examined and repacked at that time

but left in the boxes without labels, as Dr. Haynes had packed them. It is stated by Prof. Hilprecht that a considerable part of the boxes supposed to contain the tablets found by Dr. Haynes in the temple library came to Philadelphia unopened. They were deposited in the cellar of the library of the Museum and it is only within the last few weeks that they have begun to be opened and examined.

Under these circumstances I think it safe to add to what I have already said about the "temple library," that our information as to the contents of Dr. Haynes' discovery are so imperfect that it is absolutely impossible for anyone, Dr. Hilprecht included, to make at the present moment an assertion that the deposit of tablets found by him did or did not constitute a temple library. We must await their examination. Unfortunately the method in which this discovery has been handled is such that it appears to be impossible to rely upon any statement made by Dr. Hilprecht, unless supported by such manifest and palpable proof that his statements can be checked and verified by others, or by the contents of the inscriptions themselves. This is doubtless a strong statement to make, but I venture to think that the evidence which I have presented justifies it, and this evidence might be fortified by similar evidence from other parts of his recent publications.¹

¹ For example, on p. 539 of his *Excavations*, in his account of his trip to Fâra, he describes the head of a "Markhur goat in copper" figured on p. 540, as "excavated at Fâra," in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose that he excavated it, whereas in fact it was bought at Nippur, before that trip, from natives who claimed to have found it at Abû-Hatab or Fâra. Facing page 538 is a beautiful photograph entitled "Our First Expedition to the Ruins of Abû Hatab and Fâra," which was really a photograph taken on another occasion. The whole work is full of similar inaccuracies and misleading representations.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Mrs. J. H. Haynes, who has placed the field notes from her diary at my disposal; to Mr. Clarence S. Fisher, who furnished the plan which accompanies this paper; to Dr. Hermann Ranke, whose notes on the tablets have been of the greatest service in the preparation of this paper; and to Prof. J. D. Prince, who, with Dr. Lau, very kindly went to Philadelphia and examined two of the tablets.

Harvest Gods of the Land Dyaks of Borneo.—By Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, Philadelphia, Pa.

THERE has been a growing demand in the past few years for detailed studies of religious customs and ideas in relation to the physical and economic environments in which they took shape; for a double purpose, to serve as tests of current theories of the development of religion, and at the same time as a basis for new generalizations.

This paper is part of an extended attempt to bring into systematic connection what can be known of the religion of the native tribes of British Borneo, and the full scientific knowledge that is available of local conditions. My present subject is an analysis of the invocation to the gods at the harvest festivals of one of the best known of these peoples, in the light of their present¹ circumstances and probable history.

The harvest festivals of the Land Dyaks are three in number, consisting of a celebration at the cutting of first fruits, a mid-harvest interlude, and a final great occasion after all the rice is stored. They differ only in extent and in minor ritual from preceding rites, which occur at intervals through the whole farming season. And all these are in broad outlines similar to numerous religious feasts which mark every tribal event of any importance. In fact the Dyaks are much given to feasting, and it is their habit to accord a religious interpretation to each fes-

¹ The word "present" is here used in an extended sense. To be more exact, I should say the middle of the nineteenth century, for the most copious and valuable authorities on the Land Dyaks wrote from experiences among them during the period from 1835-1860. The best information about these tribes is to be gathered from the journals of Sir James Brooke and his associates, whose remarkable rule opened up the country of the Land and Sea Dyaks at this time, and attracted the attention of the civilized world to the native peoples of Borneo. It would be interesting to compare these records with recent observations to trace the effect of English influence. But later writers have concerned themselves more with other tribes. Judging from the rapidity with which political changes of 1835 were embodied in Dyak religion, their customs must have altered materially by this time.

tivity. The chief differences in these celebrations are in the dances and symbolic pageants appropriate to each occasion, and in the gods in whose honor the feast is supposed to be held.¹

At the harvest feasts, Mr. Chalmers tells us, the Land Dyaks invoke the presence of "all the powers of the spiritual, the natural, and the human worlds of which they know or have heard." The harvest celebration is indeed the culminating assemblage of gods as well as mortals. For lesser occasions only a single spirit or group of spirits is invoked. But at the great stated agricultural feasts it is more than one group when "Tuppa or Jerroang is always invoked . . . and together with the sun, moon, and stars, and the Sultan of Bruni, and their own rajah, are requested to shed their beneficent influence over the seed paddy, and to render the season propitious to its growth." They are thus addressed, according to the formula which the elder repeats while scattering rice from the doorway of the house:—"Away with you, rice. Cause me to approach acceptably . . . to request a blessing of the Tuan Patik (or Sultan) of Bruni, of the rajah of Sarawak, the rajah of the stars, the rajah of the moon, the rajah of the seven stars; to ask for paddy, to ask for rice, to beg for the blessing of our lord Jang-Tupa."

Truly we have here a motley company; Tuppa, the highest in conception and most godlike of their gods, a Malay and an English potentate, and the sun, moon and stars. Small wonder that Chalmers characterized the assemblage as consisting of all the powers they knew of in different worlds.

In saying all, he has apparently overlooked for the moment spirits of whom he speaks elsewhere, certain formidable uninvited guests, who could not be welcomed at this time because of the essential abhorrence of their natures to the beneficent powers invoked. Chief of these are the *Triu*, mountain-dwelling

¹ Sir Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d edition), i, pp. 170, 175, 185, 190-197, 219, 230; Chambers, Grant, and Denison, quoted by Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, p. 392; Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and its Productions*, pp. 251, 254; Rev. Wm. Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 411-414; Keppel, *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido* (American ed. of 1846), p. 233; Sir James Brooke in *ibid.*, p. 194.

² Rev. Wm. Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216; Low, p. 251. The forms Tuppa, Tupa, Tapa, occur, the first reproducing the pronunciation (*u* as in *but*).

war-gods, the martial genii of the Dyaks who lead them on to victory, and the horrific *Kamang*, shaggy like ourang-outangs, malevolent and cruel, who mingle in battle to increase the carnage, and whose favorite food is human blood. It is true that the presence of these is desired sometimes, when traps are set in the jungle to catch deer and pigs, and at the head-feast following battle. But to the peaceful agricultural feast they must not come. For were they present the more powerful Tuppa would not attend, "since his more pure and beneficent nature looks upon war with horror and disgust."

It is not then a gathering of all the gods that marks the great feasts of the year, but an assemblage of the higher, beneficent, peaceful powers.

Furthermore, a closer examination of the invited deities shows through their apparent diversity a common connection with farm interests.

For example, the star worship belongs to determination of planting time by the position of the Pleiades. This is the story they tell of Sakarra,² the rajah of the stars, who with his followers lives in the country of the seven-chained-stars. Once some Dyaks who went sailing out to sea were blown to a whirlpool, in the midst of which a *sibau* tree was growing up out of the water. One of them climbed up into the branches to gather fruit, and when he looked down for his companions they were nowhere to be found. What should he do? He could not go down into the sea; there was no alternative but to climb up farther. So he climbed, and at the top came to the Pleiades, a country like the Dyak country, from which he could look down through a jar with a hole in the bottom and see the people in his own village moving about their daily occupations. Sakarra, the rajah of that country, entertained him well, and gave him a queer-looking white thing to eat, which he said was rice. He then told the Dyak how to plant, reap, and cook it, told him the use of bird cries for omens, and how to cut the jungle for planting. Finally he gave him seeds for the three kinds of rice they now cultivate, and let him down by a long rope to his own village. From that time the Dyaks followed his instructions.

¹ Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 166, 216; Low, pp. 250, 254.

² Another name for the Pleiades, Low, p. 251.

"Hence they know that when in the early morning before sunrise the seven stars are low in the eastern sky, then it is time to cut down the jungle; when they appear in mid-heaven at the same time then they burn, and when they are seen declining toward the west they plant. Again, when, in early evening they are seen thus declining, then they are at liberty to bring their harvest treasures home, without fear of any ill-luck attending their joyful labours."¹

It is interesting to note in this story the going to sea as the preliminary to learning agriculture. It is suggestive of what seems historically more than probable, that rice and the art of cultivating it were brought to the Dyaks from abroad. A legendary tale, where all history is tradition and imagination runs riot like the wild jungle growths, would quickly grow up about the origin of farming, embodying in the tangle of fancy a hint of facts; and it would naturally connect itself with the stars, whose movements are closely watched at every stage.

The reason for prayer to the sun at the festival of ripe grain is too evident to need discussion. For this form of nature-worship is thoroughly familiar from its prevalence among all legend-making folks who need the sun's genial warmth for their growing things.

As for the moon, it seems in some way to be connected with the fortunes of their farms, but just how does not appear. At certain phases of the moon they stop work for a day, namely at full moon and the third day after it; in some tribes at new and full moon, and at the first and third quarters. Explanations might easily be imagined for this. But without confirming facts it seems wiser to suspend judgment on this point than to speculate.²

To be understood, the two human rulers associated in this invocation with the gods must be divested of the matter-of-fact relationships in which they appear to the outside observer. The Dyak sees them in an atmosphere of remoteness, mystery, and irresistible power over him for weal or woe. His former ruler, the Sultan of Bruni, he has never seen. Far off to the northward lives the Sultan, in the center of a magnificent court, the

¹ St. John, i, pp. 213-214; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 307-308; Brooke, in Keppel, p. 328.

² Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 401.

fame of which, highly colored, reaches the outskirts of the realm. Every year the Sultan's emissaries demanded tribute of grain and forced trade of rice for ornaments and Malay manufactures. Any delinquencies or shortage of rice were punished by swift and sure vengeance in the form of attacks by the powerful Sea Dyak pirate forces under Malay direction. The Sultan belonged to a race far superior in intellect to the Dyaks. It was easy for the latter to endow this incomprehensibly powerful being, for whom most of their rice was cultivated, with supernatural influence over the productivity of their fields.

If the Sultan of Bruni had an awe-inspiring influence over welfare, and was heartily dreaded, rajah Brooke had a no less marvelous effect upon their lives and was correspondingly adored. From the very first, Sir James Brooke's policy was to protect the weaker tribes against the ravages of their warlike neighbors. The Land Dyaks, with attractive wealth of grain for plunder, with a position on isolated hills, which made it impossible for different tribes to coöperate in defence, had been constant victims. Their houses and granaries were plundered, their standing crops burned, their men killed, and their women and children carried off into slavery. In the ten years preceding Sir James Brooke's control, the majority of Land Dyak tribes had been reduced in numbers about one half, and the survivors were in a pitiful condition. Protected by his rule, they rebuilt their houses and planted their farms and fruit trees, without fear of attack; under the ensured peaceful conditions they found enlarged markets for their produce, and trade in rice, which had been oppressive, became a source of wealth. There was every incentive to increased agricultural activity. No wonder that they came to regard this white-faced stranger, coming out of the unknown in a huge smoking boat that miraculously sped up the rivers without oars, as a beneficent god.¹

¹ Roth, *Introd.* p. xx: St. John, i, p. 151; Low, pp. 247, 292; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 188, 313. Sir James Brooke computed the decrease in numbers among the Land Dyak tribes under ten years of Malay rule, by comparison of official Malay records with his own observations. The striking results are given by Keppel, p. 341. One of the tribes had been reduced from 330 to 50 families. As a matter of fact, probably very little of the rice that was demanded as tribute and in forced trade ever reached the Sultan or got beyond the possession of the rapacious petty officials. But it was demanded in his name.

Whenever he entered a village they brought him paddy seed, and begged him to sprinkle it by dipping the women's necklaces into a mixture, in order to make the seed very productive. And the women bathed his feet, first with water, then with cocoanut milk, and then with water again, which magic fluids they afterwards carefully preserved and distributed over the farms to make them fertile. Tribes too far off for him to visit sent a piece of cloth of gold or silver, which when returned they buried in their fields to make them yield plentifully. And when the crops of the Sambas tribe failed, the chief declared that it was because the rajah had never visited them. The new sovereign whose rule had given such impetus to successful cultivation came to be regarded as a deity whose mere touch insured growth and health. Hence he was most appropriately invoked to the harvest feasts.¹

There remains to be considered the god Tuppa, most interesting of these farm patrons, most complex in origin, and most indefinite in conception. It would be impossible for me to go into an adequate discussion here of the exact attributes of this deity, even so far as they can be determined by comparison of the several accounts given by careful investigators. It would be still more futile for me to attempt to unravel in a few paragraphs the probable development through which the idea of the god Tuppa attained its final form. But a few words about the nature and antecedents of this chief figure of the occasion are indispensable to an analysis of the harvest invocation.

Tuppa is the greatest of the rajahs of the spiritual world. To the Dyaks the jungle is full of the ghosts of dead men and other spirits greater than these, but all alike malevolent. They must be propitiated, for they delight in mischief and misdeeds. But spirits as well as mortals are in subservience to the higher beneficent powers who created them and all mankind. Chalmers distinguishes four such beings: Tupa, who "created mankind and everything that draws the breath of life, and daily preserves them by his power and goodness;" Tenubi, who made the earth and all that grows on it, and gives seed and bread; Jang, who founded and instructed the order of priestesses and

¹ St. John, i, p. 193; Low, pp. 224, 247, 259.

makes their medicine effectual for men and crops; and Jirong, who presides over birth and death.¹

But I find Tuppa elsewhere accredited with each of the functions of Tenubi, Jang, and Jirong. Tuppa is spoken of as the creator not only of men and beasts, but of all things, and more often than Tenubi is called the giver of seed. Like Jang, he is supposed to have taught the art of planting padi, and he is patron of the priestesses in that they claim power from having visited his house in dreams. And to Tuppa rather than Jirong is addressed a prayer for many children. Tuppa is also constantly identified with one or another of these three. "A very intelligent man of the tribe of Sitang" told Chalmers that Tuppa and Tenubi were only different names for the same great being. Low speaks of an invocation to "Tuppa or Jerroang" as if the two were synonymous. While St. John says that "'*Jang*' is frequently associated with '*Tapa*,' and '*Tapa-Jang*' often stands for the supreme being."

It seems to me highly probable that we have here a god in the making, a unified deity just developing out of separate concepts. Such unification is by no means rare when advancing intellectual development shows the activities formerly attributed to separate deities to be closely interrelated. Or it may be in this case that the various tribes, while scattered and isolated, gave local names to the chief god of the pantheon; and later, when the impetus of trade gave more communication, they began to identify their separate divinities with the chief god of the most powerful and numerous tribes.²

¹ In Houghton, *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*, iii, p. 199; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 340; St. John, i, pp. 174, 181; Low, pp. 249-253; Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 165-167, 260. The account given by Réville, *Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, ii, p. 161, is so close even in wording to Chalmers's that I should suppose it taken from the latter.

² Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, quoted by Roth, i, p. 165; St. John, pp. 180, 199; Low, p. 273; Denison (quoted by Roth, i, p. 217) gives an invocation which begins thus, "O Tapa, who is Yang the Preserver, who is Jirong-Brama, the creator."

³ Low, p. 249, says that in many villages the name of the chief god is Tuppa, in others Jerroang has the preference. There is another god whose name they will give to interrogators, Jowata. But this is undoubtedly an importation, something they have heard of from the foreign coast peoples, and Jowata to nearly all the tribes has remained a mere name. Jowata is only prayed to by a few who have come into close contact with the Malays. Cf. Brooke in Keppel, pp. 194, 328; *ibid.* in Mundy, i, p. 335, also 201-205.

Whatever may be the true history, so much at least is certain,—that Tuppa, whether alone or in connection with Tenubi, Jirong, or Jang, has always the following qualities: (1) He has a pure and beneficent nature and loves to do good to mankind; (2) he is patron of the peaceful arts and hates strife and warfare, hence he is always invoked at the agricultural feasts and never before or after battle; (3) he is the most powerful of the gods, to whom all evil spirits are subordinated; (4) he is not, like the latter, to be found wandering in the jungle or embodied in animals or individual objects, but together with a few other uncreated beings he lives in heaven; (5) the gentle rain which falls from the sky for the health and growth of the rice is his token of favor, thunder is his anger: (6) it is he who sends the soul of the rice from heaven at the harvest feast each year.¹

These qualities are enough to show immediately that the conception of Tuppa has grown out of the experiences of agriculture. First his patronage of this chief of the peaceful arts and his miraculous giving the "soul of the rice" stamps at the very outset his place in their life. Then his hatred of war is a reflection of the incompatibility of the occupations of planting and plundering; peace and settled life are good for the farms, so the god of farm-life consistently hates fierce rovers. He is the most powerful of the gods because rice-growing has come to be their principal occupation and source of wealth;² it has superseded the older pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing, which are now altogether subsidiary. With their decline the multitudinous jungle spirits, worshipped by Land Dyaks in common with all other trappers and fishers of Borneo, have been subordinated to the new deities.

The spirits residing in trees, the spirits of earth and water, and of the lower air, as well as the ghosts of dead men, are

¹ Cf., besides references noted above, Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 199; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 413.

² In some Land Dyak tribes the cultivation of fruit trees is of almost equal importance with that of rice, in a very few cases even greater. All the Land Dyak tribes plant cocoanut and durian trees about their villages. Some have a second crop of garden-vegetables after the rice is harvested. But rice is in general the staple. Cf. St. John, i, pp. 147, 202; Low, pp. 282-284; Denison, quoted by Roth, i, p. 407; Houghton, M.S.S., iii, p. 197.

regarded as malicious causes of misfortune and illness who must be propitiated by offerings, or driven away by gong-beating and incantations; while Tuppa and his associates are all kindly disposed.¹ Two reasons may be assigned for this habit of attributing everything that goes wrong to the gods of the wild jungle life, and all good things to the patrons of agriculture. In the first place, it is but a reflection of their bettered fortunes from the life of hunting and fighting (so full of terror and accident that the spirits were already supposed to be for the most part malevolent) to the new comfort and welfare that came with an abundant supply of rice, and was naturally accredited to a god who wished them well. In the second place, the character of Tuppa is a projection of the change in their own natures from the ferocity and cunning developed in the jungle to the honesty, thrift, and peaceful coöperation cultivated in accordance with the needs of successful agriculture.

The patron of rice-culture, from the nature of that occupation, came to be regarded as benevolent; from its importance, as chief among the gods. How shall we account for the further extension of Tuppa's influence, beyond the mere needs of the farms, to care of the Dyak's welfare of many kinds?

The enlarging of the scope of a deity that comes with the development of agriculture has been recognized by Mr. Jevons in his general religious theories. He turns to syncretism to account for it, that is in this connection, the fusion of worship of several clans which have settled down together for agricultural life. According to Mr. Jevons, the bringing together in larger communities of small clans having different gods would result in the conception of larger gods uniting the characteristics of the lesser ones. It is a perfectly logical explanation. Is it historically accurate?

Let us test it by our analysis of the god Tuppa. Tuppa, as we have seen, is often associated with Jirong, Jang and Tenubi, and has even come to be accredited with their prerogatives. This would seem to be in line with Mr. Jevons's theory. But Jirong, Jang, and Tenubi, be it remembered, are like Tuppa himself, great rajahs of the spiritual world placed above the jungle spirits. They are no early lesser clan gods, but them-

¹ Cf. references given above for pp. 171 and 172.

selves outgrowths of the broader life. Two of them at least are distinctly agricultural; Tenubi, who made the earth and all that grows on it, and is especially the giver of seed and bread; and Jang, who instructed the priestesses in caring for the rice. On the other hand, the relationship of Tuppa to the pre-agricultural gods, who still remain as subservient members of the pantheon, is not that of absorption, but of unmitigated hostility. And the character of Tuppa, far from being a combination of the qualities of forest spirits, is something entirely new, growing out of the new manner of life.¹

This life in itself is sufficient to lead to the concept of a god of varied power. If the beginning of rice-culture affected the Dyaks' character, it had no less influence upon their intellectual insight. Where before they had only to consider the day's wants, and to acquire a certain ingenuity of pursuit; now they must plan for results months ahead, and must calculate upon many conditions of soil, seed and weather, to bring about a single desired result. Thus they came to consider not only things, but forces. They began to see the interrelation of distant events. And with the widening of their mental horizon there was produced a wider conception of deity. The harvest god could not be embodied in a single object. He who controlled all these complex forces of nature must be far removed from the actual world. The sky was thought to be his dwelling place, because from thence came down the gentle rain and sunlight that prospered the crops, the thunderstorm that destroyed. Having thus exalted Tuppa and believing him to have power

¹ Jevons, *Introduction to the history of Religion*, Ch. xviii. When this syncretism did not take place, Mr. Jevons goes on to say, the gods remained together and polytheism arose. Polytheism is undoubtedly characteristic of the Dyak religion, whether we are willing to attribute it to a fusing of tribes or not. For my own part I am more inclined to regard it in this case as the result of superimposing new activities upon old modes of life not yet supplanted. The patron gods of different pursuits are formed into a pantheon, taking rank according to the relative importance of the interests they represent. But supposing Mr. Jevons's suggestion to be correct, that polytheism resulted from the settling together for agricultural purposes of several tribes whose patron deities did not fuse, we have not accounted under these conditions for the enlarging of a single god's province which is characteristic of agriculture.

over all the multiform conditions that determined the success of their labors, it was easy to extend his domain and pray to him, as they do, for increase of children, for abundance of wild pigs and fruits, and nests full of honey in the tapang trees.¹

Such, briefly, are some of the antecedents of the chief god of the feast. He is seen to be an idealization of their main source of wealth; his nature, in so far as it differs from that of the denizens of the more primitive spirit world, being determined by the peaceful and prosperous conditions of settled life, the character-development it produced, and the increased intellectual ability.

The greatest god is invoked to the greatest feasts. Yet less, I think, because of his exalted position, than because, being distinctively in his character, scope, and functions, the outgrowth of farming, he is the most appropriate guest at a harvest sacrifice. And the rajahs who join with Tuppa in blessing the fields, the rajahs of the sun, moon, and stars, and the two human potentates, are beings that have been accredited with supernatural influence over the rice, because the Dyak has felt the power of their natural activities, for good or evil, in his agricultural pursuits.

The result of our analysis is then briefly this:—that the Land Dyaks invoke to their harvest feasts the gods that are the emanation of their experiences in farm life, also those powers of man and nature whose effect upon the fortune of the farms has led to their exaltation in mystical reverence.

¹ Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 199; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216; Low, pp. 814-816.

Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature.—By HANNES OERTEL; Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Fifth Series:¹ I. Indra in the guise of a woman (JB. ii. 78).

IN the subrahmanyā ceremony (Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur* (1897), p. 127 with note² on p. 134; *Vedische Mythologie*, iii (1902), p. 209 with note³) Indra is, inter alia, invoked as vṛṣaṇaśvasya mene. The great antiquity of the formula is attested by RV. i. 51. 13, which quotes ménā 'bhavo vṛṣaṇaśvasya [sukrato] and enjoins that, together with some other phrases of like character, it should be recited at the soma-pressings (visvé 't tá te sávanesu pravācyā). All the Brāhmaṇas are unanimous in interpreting this formula as an allusion to one of Indra's amatory adventures: SB. 1. 1. 16 says: vṛṣaṇaśvasya ha menasya menakā nāma duhitā 'sa. tām he 'ndras cakame.⁴ The JB. ii. 78 has: vṛṣaṇaśvasya ha menā bhūtvā maghavā kula uvāsa. The Śaṭ B. (quoted by Sāyaṇa to RV. i. 51. 13) omits ha, but otherwise agrees verbatim with JB.⁵ In an entirely different connection⁶ and without reference to the subrahmanyā, the MS. ii. 5. 5 (p. 54, 7) has this: yatra vā ada indro vṛṣaṇaśvasya menā 'sīt tad enaṁ nirṛtiḥ pāpmā 'grhṇāt. The character of the story becomes clear if it is compared with its Kāthaka parallel (xiii. 5; p. 186, 6): indro vāi vilisteṅgāṁ [D. vilistiṅgāṁ] dānavīm akāmayata. so 'sureśv acarat. stry eva strīsv abhavat pumān puṁsu. sa nirṛtigṛhīta ivā 'manyata, which Weber (IS. v, 1862, 249) and Bloomfield (Atharva Translation, 1897, SBE. xiii. 447) very plausibly connect with AV. vii. 38. 2, yenā nicakra āsurī

¹ Series I was printed in JAOS. xviii. p. 15; Series II in xix. p. 97; Series III in *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. i (1899), p. 225; Series IV in JAOS. xxiii. p. 325.

² This is, as I pointed out in this Journal xviii. (1896) p. 34, note³, probably the passage which Sāyaṇa had in mind in his note to RV. i. 51. 13.

³ JAOS. xviii. (1896) p. 35.

⁴ The passage is parallel to Kāth. xiii. 5 (p. 186, 6), and Indra's escapade in the house of Vṛṣaṇaśva in the MS. takes the place of his affair with the dānavī Vilisteṅgā in the Kāthaka.

'ndraṁ devebhyas pari | tenā ni kurve tvāṁ ahaṁ yathā te 'sāni supriyā.

I can see no good reason for assuming with Eggeling (SBE. 1885, xxvi. 81 note¹) that "the myth alluded to in the Rik had been forgotten at the time of the Brāhmaṇas and a new version of it was invented based on the menā of the original." To be sure, the details of the story are lost. This much, however, is perfectly clear, that Indra impersonated some woman² of Vṛṣa-ṇaśva's household. Its general trend is peculiarly suited to the popular conception of Indra's character.³ The motif is admirably fitted to a folk tale⁴—such tales as fill Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlin* (1555) or Frey's *Gartengesellschaft* (1556) or Martin Montanus' *Wegkürzer* (1557) and other Schwankbücher, but it is ill adapted for exploitation in hymns and the ritual.⁵

Thus we find this motif in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (chapter v, p. 138 of Wilson's ed., London, 1846) where Pramati gains access to his beloved Navamālikā by the same device. 'A plan,' says Wilson in his summary (p. 23 of the Introduction), 'is devised to effect their [i. e. Pramati's and Navamālikā's] union. The old Brahman takes Pramati in the dress of a female [p. 138, 8 f. Pramati says: ayam ahaṁ parivartitas strīveśas te kanyā nāma bhaveyam] to the Raja, and introduces him as his daughter, who has been betrothed some time, but whose bridegroom is absent. The pretended father therefore professes to go in search of him, and asks to leave his daughter in the care of the Raja, to which the latter consents. Pramati thus obtains access to his mistress [p. 139, 4 f. Pramati says: svaduhitṛsaṁnidhāu mām vāsaiṣyati]'⁶

¹ menā=stṛī (cf. Sāyaṇa to RV. 1. 121. 2 aśvasya menām, strīnāmāi 'tat), perhaps=vrā (Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. (1897) 121 ; 313).

² Cf. *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897. I. (1899) p. 233. To the references given there in note ³ add Hillebrandt, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1903, No. 3, p. 244, and Rāmāy. i. 48 f. (Bomb.)=49 f. (Gorr.); vii. 30 (Bomb.)=38 (Gorr.).

³ Cf. the Ahalyā story in Kathāsaritsāgara, xvii. 137, where Indra, under similar circumstances, turns into a cat. Cf. TMB. viii. 2. 2 for a cat in the house of a ṛṣi.

⁴ Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 1895, p. 171-2; Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien I* (1889), preface p. xxvii "Der indische Volkshumor bricht hier (*scil.* in den Indraliedern) allenthalben durch."

⁵ Somewhat similar is the story of Puṣṭodbhava, who, disguised as a female attendant of his mistress, kills her unwelcome lover Dāruvarman, prince of Ujayin (cf. Wilson, *l. c.*, p. 11).

It is the same motif which we find in the Greek story of Leukippos and Daphne. Both Pausanias and Parthenius who tell the story appear to have followed the same source. Parthenius gives as his authorities an elegiac poet Diodorus and Phylarchus (ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Διωδώρῳ τῷ Ἐλαίτῃ ἐν ἐλεγείαις καὶ Φυλάρχῳ ἐν ιε). Since Phylarchus told the story of Apollo's pursuit of Daphne' (Plutarch, Agis ix. 2), it seems probable that the Leukippos episode was drawn from Diodorus who is not mentioned elsewhere.¹

The story itself runs as follows:

PAUSANIAS (VIII. 20. 2-4).

PARTHENIUS (NARR. AMAT.
XV. 2-3).

Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν ταύτης [i. e. Δάφνης] περὶ τὴν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος ἐρῶν Ἡλιδίαν ἀλωμένης Λεύκιππος, Οἰνοσθέϊς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ μάου παῖς, εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθε καὶ τὸ εὐθέως μνώμενος γυναῖκα ἔξειν ἀπεγί- μὲν ἄλλως πως αὐτῆς περᾶσθαι γινώσκε αὐτὴν ἅτε ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γέ- ἀπέγνων, ἀμφιεσάμενος δὲ γυνος φεύγουσαν· παρῆσθη δὲ οἱ τοι- ναικείαις ἀμπεχόναϊς καὶ ὁμόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα. ἔτρεφεν οἰωθεὶς κόρη συνεθήρη αὐτῇ. ἔτυχε ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλ- δὲ πως αὐτῇ κατὰ νοῦν γεγόμενος οὐ φείψ· ταύτην οἶα δὴ παρθέ- μεθίει τε αὐτὸν ἀμφιπεσοῦσά τε καὶ νος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην ἐξηρτημένην πᾶσαν ὥραν. καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς γυναικείαν ἀφίκετο ὡς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὡς συνηρᾶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένους παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ κνηγέσσια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θερμείᾳ περισσῇ χρώμενος, ἐς φιλίων ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην. οἱ

¹ Helbig, *Rhein. Mus.* xxiv. (1869) p. 251; Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie* (in I. v. Müller's Handbuch) p. 159, note 12; Edgar Martini, note on Parthen. narrat. amat. xv; Waser in Pauly-Wissowa iv, col. 2138, give the literature on the Daphne legends.

² Hecker, therefore, proposes to read Δουρίδι (known from the Anthology) for Διωδώρῳ (Philol. v, 1846, p. 416).

δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παιδὸς
 ἔδοντες καὶ τὰδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλ- πόθῳ καϊόμενος ὀργῇ τε καὶ φθόνῳ
 λωνα Λευκίπῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν εἶχετο τοῦ Λευκίππου συνόντος καὶ
 ἔρωτα εὐδαιμονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύ- ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτῇ βάλλει σὺν ταῖς λοι-
 μῃσιν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἢ Δάφνῃ καὶ αἱ παῖς παρθένοις ἐπὶ κρήνην ἐλθούσαις
 λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχασθαι καὶ τὸν λούεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ ὡς ἀφικόμεναι
 Λευκίππον ἀποδύουσιν ἄκοντα. ἰδοῦ- ἀπεδιδύσκοντο καὶ ἐύρων τὸν Λευκίπ-
 σαι δὲ οὐ παρθένον τοῖς τε ἄκοντίοις πον μὴ βουλόμενον περιέβρῃξαν αὐ-
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίοις τύπτουσαι διέ- τόν. μυθοῦσαι δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ
 φθειραν. ὡς ἐπεβούλευεν αὐταῖς πᾶσαι μεθίε-
 σαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς αἰχμὰς.

The same motif recurs in the story of Hymenaeus and the noble Attic virgin¹ which is preserved in the scholia Floriacensia to Vergil's Aeneid, and in the grammarian Lactantius Placidus' commentary to Statius' Thebais. From them the three Vatican mythographers derived their information.

SCHOL. FLORIANENSE AD VERG. LACTANTII PLACIDI COMMENT.

AEN. iv. 99 (SERVII COMMENTARI, REC. THILO ET HAGEN, I. p. 481; CF. ALSO p. xxxvii).

IN STAT. THEB. iii. 283 (IN J. VEENHUSEN'S ED. OF STATIUS, LUGD. BATAV. 1671 OR LONDON 1824).

..... Hymenaeus, Atheniensis adeo pulcher fuit ut adulescens puella putaretur. Is cum unam virginem nobilem ipse mediocriter ortus adamasset eiusque nuptias desperaret, quod unum poterat, sequendo puellam amoris satis faciebat. Sed cum Atheniensium nobilissimae virgines Eleusinae Cereri sacra facerent, subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt: inter quas etiam Hymenaeus qui illo amatam fuerat secutus tamquam puella raptus est. Sed cum piratae praedam per maria lon-

Hymenaeus puer genere Atheniensis fuit. Is cum annos puerilis aetatis excederet neque adhuc virum posset implere ea pulchritudine praeditus fuisse dicitur, ut feminam mentiretur. Is cum unam ex civibus suis virginem nobilem adamasset, ipse mediocribus ortus parentibus quia nuptias desperabat, quod poterat tamen puellam extrema amoris linea diligens satis animo solo faciebat aspectu, cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Cereris Eleusinae celebrarent subito adventu

¹ R. Schmidt, *De Hymenaeo et Talasio* (Kiel, 1886), p. 14.

ginqua portassent in desertam piratarum raptae sunt inter quas regionem delati ac fatigati etiam Hymenaeus, qui illo amasomno se dederunt: quos cum tam fuerat subsecutus, quod universos occidisset Hymenaeus puella crederetur. Cum igitur relictis ibi virginibus Athenas per longinqua maria praedam reversus est petiitque a civibus piratae vexissent ad quandam ut, si virgines quae raptae fuerant reduxisset, dilectae nuptias veniunt ibique somno oppressi impetraret: quas cum reduxisset optatam in matrimonium empti. Hymenaeus relictis ibi virginem meruit. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit pactus est a civibus dilectae Atheniensibus omnibus nuptiis nuptias si eis filias suas restituisset. Quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam accepit uxorem. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit Atheniensibus nomen nuptiis Hymenaei miscere.

The mythographers have this:

MYTHOGR. VATIC. I. 75	MYTHOGR. VATIC. II. 219	MYTHOGR. VATIC. III,
(A. MAI, CLASS. AUCT. III, 1831, p. 30).	(A. MAI, CLASS. AUCT. III, 1831, p. 159).	TRACT. xi. 3 (A. MAI, CLASS. AUCT. III, 1831, p. 251).

Hymenaeus puer formosissimus genere Atheniensis fuit. Is cum annos puérilis aetatis excederet, neque adhuc virum implere posset, ea pulchritudine praeditus fuisse dicitur ut feminam mentiretur. Istum cum una ex civibus suis virgo nobilis adamasset, et ipse mediocribus ortus parentibus quia nuptias desperabat, quod poterat tamen puellam extrema	... Hymenaeus puer genere Atheniensis fuit. Is cum annos puerilis aetatis excederet neque adhuc virum posset implere ea pulchritudine praeditus fuisse dicitur ut feminam mentiretur. Istum cum una ex civibus suis nobilis virgo adamasset ipse mediocribus ortus parentibus quia nuptias desperabat quod poterat tamen puellam extrema	Lactantius tamen ab historia tractum dicit ut Hymenaeus nuptiis praesit, quod etiam Servius attestatur. Fuit enim Athenis, inquit, adolescens tantae pulchritudinis ut feminam mentiretur. Hunc cum una ex civibus virgo nobilis tuo adamasset ipse tamen mediocribus ortus parentibus nuptias desperabat. Cum autem Atti- cae semel virgines prope
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amoris linea diligens, eius animo solo satisfaciebat aspectu. Cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Cereris Eleusinae celebrarent, subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus, qui illo amatam subsecutus fuerat, cum puella abripitur. Cum igitur per longinqua maria praedam piratae vexissent ad quandam regionem tandem perveniunt ubi et somno pressi ab insequentibus sunt perempti. Hymenaeus relictis ibi virginibus reversus Athenas pactus est a civibus dilectae suae nuptias si eis filias suas restitueret. Quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam accepit uxorem. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit Atheniensibus nomen nuptiis Hymenaei miscere.

animo suo faciebat aspectu. Cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Eleusinae celebrarent subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus qui illo amatam suam fuerat subsecutus, eique puella creditur. Cum igitur per longinqua maria praedam piratae vexissent ad quandam regionem tandem devoluti perveniunt ibique somno oppressi ab insequentibus sunt perempti. Hymenaeus ibi relictis virginibus reversus Athenas pactus est a civibus dilectae nuptias si eis filias suas restituisset. Quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam accepit uxorem. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit Atheniensibus nomen Hymenaei nuptiis miscere . . .

litus sacra celebrarent subito piratarum adventu raptae et asportatae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus qui in habitu muliebri amatam virginem subsecutus civis puella creditus est. Piratae vero in longinqua regione portum nacti ab insequentibus sunt interempti. Hymenaeus igitur relictis ibi virginibus Athenas reversus dilectae nuptias a civibus pactus est si filias suas eis restituisset: quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam duxit uxorem: cui quia feliciter coniugium obtigit obtinuit ut nomen eius in nuptiis invocetur . . .

Finally, Joannes Balbus (Giovanni Balbi) de Janua in his *Catholicon*¹ s.v. *himen* tells the story in this form:²

Hymenaeus Atheniensis juvenis amore cuiusdam forma paris sed nobilitate superioris inarserat. Sed generis imparitate repulsam passus inter virginali habitu conversatus et a

¹ Some copies of the first ed. of 1460 have no title; others have the head-title: *Incipit summa que vocatur Catholicon edita a fratre Johanne de Janua ordinis fratrum predicatorum.*

² Not having access to an edition of the *Catholicon*, I quote this from R. Schmidt's dissertation *De Hymenaeo et Tulasio*, Kiel, 1886, p. 14, note.

piratis inter virgines captivatus et tandem vir esse deprehensus ad suos remissus est ut parentibus virginum eorum facilem nuntiet vel dicat reditum, ea tamen lege ut eius quam peteret uti coniugio concederetur. Conceditur. Redduntur virgines; fit ille voti sui compos salva lege suae conditionis.

Saxo Grammaticus,¹ in the ninth book of his Danish History, tells how king Ragnar Loðbrók made use of the same device: Cumque . . . aliquanto bellorum interstitio quievisset, cuiusdam forte mulierculae amantior factus quo promptiorem sibi potiendae eius aditum strueret patrem ipsius amplissimo beneficentiae cultu officiosissime captandum curavit. Saepe enim numero accersitum ad epulas plurimae comitatus officii prosequabatur. Nam et venientem assurgendi reverentia discumbentemque proximo sibi consessu veneratus est. Saepe etiam donis, interdum benignissimo recreavit alloquio. Qui cum tantae honorationis causam a nullo suo merito profectam animadverteret, cogitatione varie deflexa, ex amore filiae suae tacitam principis liberalitatem descendisse cognovit, libidinosum propositum humanitatis nomine colorantis. Quam ut exactissimum amantis ingenium frustraretur, tanto impensius observandam curavit quanto eam latentioribus studiis ac pervicacioribus modis ambiri comperit. Verum Regnerus certissimo consensus eius nuntio recreatus villam in qua asservabatur accessit, nihilque amoris invium putans in vicino quendam rusticae vitae solitarius hospitis petiit. Mane, commutata cum feminis veste, amicae laneum opus explicanti muliebriter cultus astitit virgineoque operi rudes artificicii manus callide, ne proderetur, admovit; nocte vero votis virginem amplexatus indulsit. Cumque, maturescente partu, temeratae pudicitiae facinus tumidiore puellae gremio proderetur, incertus pater cui se filia polluemdam dedisset ignoratum stupri auctorem ex ipsa maxime cognoscere perseveravit. Qua se neminem praeter pedissequam lecti participem habuisse pertinacius affirmante regi cognoscendam mandavit. Ille, insontem famulam inusitata criminatione notari non sustinens, proprii sceleris professione alienae innocentiae fidem facere non erubuit. Qua humanitate et muliebris calumniae partes repulit et ne ridiculus

¹ P. 450-1 of Müller's and Velschow's edition (Havniae 1839)=p. 307 of Holder's edition (Strassburg, 1886)=p. 480 of H. Jantzen's translation (Berlin, 1900).

rumor apud improbas aures sereretur effecit. Praeterea gignendum ex ea filium sui sanguinis esse quodque eum Ubbonem nuncupari vellet adiecit. Qui cum aliquatenus excrevisset, tenerae aetatis ingenio maturae discretionis habitum apprehendit. Matris enim dilectionem quod excellenti se toro miscuisset amplexus, venerationem patris quod ad obscuriorem iusto copulam descendisset abiecit.

Similarly an episode of the Thidrek saga¹ relates how Apollonius, jarl af Tyra, falls in love with Herborg, daughter of the Franconian king Salumon. Being refused her hand by her father he takes ten of his knights and hides in the woods near the king's castle. In the morning he borrows a woman's headkerchief (*höfuð-dúk*) and cloak (*skikkja*) and thus enters the queen's chambers as Heppa, a poor beggar woman. In this disguise he communicates with Herborg and elopes with her during her father's absence in Rome.

In Roman comedy this motif occurs several times. L. Pomponius of Bononia wrote a farce Maccus Virgo (Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung* i, 1887, p. 211) the plot of which may belong here. The fragment from the Macci Gemini, preserved by Nonius (i. p. 103, 25 Luc. Mueller's ed., Lipsiae, 1888): 'Perii! non puerulast!—Numqui abscondidisti inter nates,' certainly describes some such situation (cf. Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 215). Macrobius (vi. 4. 13) preserves a few lines in which some Roman Bottom rehearses speaking 'in a monstrous little voice,' to impersonate a woman: 'Vocem deducas oportet ut videantur mulieris | Verba.—Iube modo adferatur munus, ego vocem dabo | Tenuem et tinnulam | | Etiam nunc vocem deducam' (cf. Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 215). The clearest case, however, is in the 'Epistula' of L. Afranius (Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 203; *Comic. Lat. Frag.*, 1855, p. 152). There the lover, speaking as small as he can (*succrotilla voce*) and in female disguise ('tace! | Puella non sum, supparo si induta sum?') enters the

¹ Cf. Hugdietrich's wooing of Hiltburc in the guise of a girl (Wolfdietrich, B, i. 27 ff.=p. 171 of Amelung und Jänicke's *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, 3d part, (Berlin, 1871).

² Saga Þidriks Konungs af Bern ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania 1853), chap. 251 (p. 226). In Peringskiöld's ed. (Stockholm 1725) it is chap. 225. A German translation in F. H. v. d. Hagen, *Nordische Heldenromane* II, Wilkina- und Niflunga Saga oder Dietrich von Bern und die Nibelungen. (Breslau, 1814), ii. p. 208, chap. 225.

girl's house, where he is discovered by her irate mother ('ego [probably the girl is speaking] misera risu clandestino rumpier | Torpere mater, amens ira fervere').

In the *Chanson de Geste* 'Auberi of Burgundy' (edited by Tobler, *Mittheilungen aus Altfranzösischen Handschriften* I, 1870) female disguise is resorted to twice, once by a messenger (pp. 47-8) and once by the lover himself (pp. 71-2). The same ruse is employed in Louvet de Couvray's *Amours du Chevalier de Faublas*.¹

Other instances may be found in Johannes Bolte's notes to Martin Montanus' *Wegkürzer*, chapter 15, and *Gartengesellschaft*, chapter 110 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. cxxvii, Tübingen, 1899, p. 569 and p. 631).

These stories seem to me to have but an outward resemblance to the tales of the young Achilles whom his mother hides among the women at the court of Lycomedes at Scyrus² (Apollod. Biblioth. iii. 13. 8. 4; cf. Roscher, *Lexicon* i, col. 27-8; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* i, col. 226, line 20) or of the child Bacchus³ whom a vase painting of the fifth century represents clad in a girl's dress.⁴ For the purpose of the disguise is here entirely different and the selection of female garb not at all essential: Jokhebed (Exod. 2. 3) and Herzeloides⁵ accom-

¹ The first of these references I owe to Professor Warren, the second to Professor Lang.

² His love affair with Lycomedes' daughter Deidameia which led to the birth of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) in purely incidental and in no way the cause for his disguise, as was the case in all the preceding tales.

³ Apollodor. Biblioth. iii. 4. 3. 4; cf. Gruppe *Griech. Mythol.* p. 904.

⁴ Graef, *Bruchstücke einer Schale von der Akropolis*, in *Jahrbuch d. kais. deut. archaeol. Instituts* vi (1891) p. 46-8.

⁵ Wolfram v. Eschenbach's *Parzival* iii. 320-336: do gedähte mër diu künegin | "der liute vil bî spötte sint. | tören kleider sol mîn kint | ob sîne liechten libe tragen. | wirt er geroufet unt geslagen. | so kumet er mir her wider wol." | ôwê der jaemerlichen dol! | diu frouwe nam ein sactuoch: | si sneit im hemede unde bruoch, | daz doch an eime stücke erschein. | unz enmitten an sîn blankez bein. | daz wart fur tören kleit erkant. | ein gugel man obene drûfe vant. | al frisch rûch kelberîn | von einer hût zwei ribbalin | nâch sînen beinen wart gesniten. | da wart grôz jâmer niht vermiten.

Cf. Crestien de Troies' description (Potvin's ed. in Perceval le Gallois, Mons, 1871, vol. ii. p. 57) vs. 1690-9: La mère, tant com il li loist, | Le retient et si le séjourne: | Et si l'apareille et atourne | De kanevas grosse cemise | Et braies faites à la guise | De Gales à l'en fet ensamble | Braies

plish the same end (the safety of their children) by different means.¹ Cf. also Plut. Qu. Graec. 58.

Nor would I connect our stories as intimately as Gruppe seems to do with certain apotropaic² rites and cult-ceremonies which involve an interchange of garments.³ In these cases again the aim is entirely different, and they are much more properly classed with the apotropaic noises which are frequent in the ritual to ward off evil influences.⁴

Our stories⁵ should rather be classed with those of Zeus χρυσόμορφος (Soph. frag. 1026) and Danaë, or Zeus and Leda (Eurip. Helen. 17–20, λόγος τις ὡς Ζεὺς μητέρ' ἔπτει εἰς ἐμὴν | Λήδαν κύκνον μορφώματ' ὀρνίθος λαβών | ὃς δόλιον εὔνην ἐξέπραξε . . .). In fact Pindar uses the motif of the golden rain in the story of Alcmene (Isthm. vii [vi]).

Instead of a disguise actual transformation may take place. Helios,⁶ for instance, deceives Leucothoe by assuming the form of her mother Eurynome, cf. Ovid, Metam. iv. 218 f.,

et cauces, ce me samble | Et si ot cote et caperon, | Clos de cuirs de cero environ. Also the English metrical romance in the Thornton MS. of Lincoln Cathedral (The Mabinogion, by Lady Charlotte Guest, London, 1869, p. 400): The childe hadd no thyng y^t tyde | Y^t he mygte in his bones hyde | Bot a gaytes skynn | He was burely of body & y^r to rizt brade | One ayther halfe a skynn he hade | The hode was of y^e same made | Juste to y^e chynn | His hode was juste to his chyn | Y^e flesche halfe tourned w^t in.

¹ The tale of Heracles and Omphale is of an entirely different character. But it is noteworthy that the playful exchange of garments between Heracles and Omphale which is often referred to in poetry and art (cf. Jahn in the Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. W., 1855, p. 215 ff., especially p. 224; also Roscher, Lexicon i, p. 2247 f.) leads to an unintentional deception of Faunus which is very amusingly told by Ovid, Fast. ii. 301–358. Compare also the 'spirited and humorous' (Macaulay) version of this 'tale of poesie upon the nyhtes micherie' in Gower's Confessio Amantis v. 6807 ff. (where Iole takes the place of Omphale).

² This term was introduced by Miss J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, p. xvii). It seems to be the most convenient word to refer to 'ceremonies of riddance' and the 'cult of aversion,' the Greek ἀποσμποαί, German 'Abwehrzauber,' etc.

³ Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. § 274, pp. 903–4.

⁴ Cf., for India, Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur* (1897) p. 180.

⁵ Arjuna, Indra's representative in the Mahābhārata, is clothed as a eunuch and so gets acquainted with the daughter of Virāṭa in the harem; but she marries Arjuna's son.

⁶ Roscher, Lexicon I, p. 2017.

'thalamos deus intrat amatos | Versus in Eurynomes faciem genetricis,' and the Anonymus in Westermann's *Μυθόγραφοι*, 1843, p. 348, 'Ἥλιος Λευκοθήῃ τῇ Ὀρχομένου μνηστῆρι θελήσας εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῆς προειρημένης μετεμορφώθη. If Lactantius is correct this story was found in Hesiod.¹ In a similar manner Vertumnus² approaches Pomona in the shape of an old woman, cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 654 ff., *Ille etiam picta redimitus tempora mitra | Innitens baculo, positus ad tempora canis | Assimulavit anum, cultosque intravit in hortus.*

Elsewhere the motif is slightly altered and the lover deceives the wife by assuming the form of her husband. Thus Indra appeared to Ahalyā in the shape of her husband Gāutama; at least Ahalyā, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, pleads this deception in her defense: 'Without my knowledge was I violated by the god who had taken thy form' (*ajānati dharsitā 'sni tvadrūpeṇa divāukasā*, *Uttarakāṇḍa* [vii], 38. 39 Gorresio). The Greek tale of Zeus and Alkmene,³ ὡς συγγένειο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεὶς (*Paus.* v. 18. 3), and, in the Arthurian legend, the episode of Uther-Pendragon and Igera, wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, in which Uther 'se Merlini medicationibus commisit et in speciem Gorlois transmutatus est' are exact parallels. Of modern authors Théophile Gautier,⁴ the Elder, appears to be the only one who was bold enough to utilize the motif in this form in his novel *Avatar*, published in 1832, in which the

¹ Lactant. *Plac. argum.* Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 5 in Goettling's *Hesiodi Carmina*, ed. tertia, cur. Flach, 1878, p. 322, frag. cxliii, . . . in speciem matris puellae Eurynomes conversus virginem deceptam dolo vitiavit . . . hoc Hesiodus indicat.—Gower, who tells this story in his *Confessio Amantis* (v. 6713 ff.) as an Ensample of Stelthe and Robberie of Love, omits the transformation.

² Propertius iv [v]. 2. 23 refers to this: *Indue me Cois, flam non dura puella.*

³ Roscher, *Lexicon* i, p. 246; Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, i, col. 1572.—Gower, *Confessio Amantis* ii. 2459 ff. gives a very curious version of this story which he introduces to illustrate Supplantacioun. He makes Geta the husband of Almeene, and Amphitrioun takes the part of Zeus.

⁴ Galfridus Monumetensis (Geoffroy of Monmouth), *Historiae Reg. Britanniae* viii. 19; the quotation is from p. 117, 67 f. of San Marte's (pseud. for A. Schulz) edition, Halle, 1854.

⁵ An outline of the plot may be found in P. Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du xix^e Siècle*, i (1866), p. 1038, cols. 3-4, s. v. *Avatar*.

hero, Octave de Saville, is actually, by magic, transformed into the count Labinski.¹

A third manner of deception is illustrated in the story of the Roman knight Decius Mundus² and the pious matron Paulina, wife of Saturninus, who was deceived by Mundus' assuming the guise of the god Anubis³ (καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε [i. e. in the temple of Isis], οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν. παννύχιόν τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο ὑπειληφνῖα θεὸν εἶναι).

The same motif occurs in the Nectanabus episode of the Alexander romance, the oldest version of which is given in Pseudo-Callisthenes⁴ i, 4 ff. (cf. especially chapters 5 and 7, with their respective headings: "Ἐνθα Νεκτανεβῶς ἐν σχήματι θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος, ἐν ὁράματι συγγινόμενος αὐτῇ [i. e. Ὀλυμπιάδι], λέγει· Γύναι, κατὰ γαστροὺς ἔχεις ἄρρενα παῖδα ἐκδικόν σου γινόμενον, and "Ἐνθα Νεκτανεβῶς ἀπατήσας αὐτήν ἐν σχήματι θεοῦ συγγίνεται αὐτῇ). Thence it passed into the Latin,⁵ Armenian,⁶ Syriac,⁷ French,⁸ Ger-

¹ The dramatic critic in [London] Truth for May 11th, 1905 (no. 1480, vol. lvii, p. 1197), regards the stories of double personality (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde) and of doubles (The Masquerader) as modifications of this ancient motif.

² The story is told by Josephus, Ant. xviii. chap. 4, § 66 ff.: Zonaras, Annal. vi. 5 (= vol. i, p. 480, 15 ff. of M. Pinder's edition, Bonn, 1841, in Niebuhr's Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantiae); Hegesippus, De bell. Jud. ii. 4 (in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Lugduni, MDCLXXVII, vol. v, p. 1151, col. 2). For later writers see Macaulay's note to Gower's Confessio Amantis i. 761.

³ A *mimus* entitled *Moechus Anubis* is mentioned by Tertullian Apologet. adv. gent. 15 (cf. Grysar, Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy xii, 1854, p. 251): Cetera lasciviae ingenia etiam voluptatibus vestris per deorum dedecus operantur. Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis videatis, 'Moechum Anubim' et 'Masculum Lunam' et 'Dianam Flagellatam' et 'Iovis mortui testamentum' recitatum et 'Tres Hercules Famelicos' irrisos. Unfortunately nothing is known concerning the nature of the plot of this farce.

⁴ Müller's edition, at the end of Dübner's Arriani Anabasis et Indica, Paris (Didot) 1846.

⁵ Julius Valerius (rec. Kuebler) i. 3 ff.; Julii Valerii epitome (ed. Zacher) 1. 4 ff.; Leonis Archipresbyteri Neapolitani Vita Alexandri Magni (Historia de preliis) ed. Landgraf i. 4 ff.

⁶ Cf. Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Halle, 1867, pp. 87, 8 and 89, 18.

⁷ In Roemheld's Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kritik der Alexander-sage (Gymnas. Progr. Hersfeld) 1873.

⁸ Eustache (or Thomas) de Kent, Roman de toute chevalerie, in P. Meyer's Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age, Paris, 1886, i, p. 199 ff. [= vol. iv of the Bibliothèque Française du Moyen Age].

man,¹ English,² etc.³ In Sanskrit this mode of deception is utilized in the 'Tale of the Weaver as Viṣṇu' (Pancatantra i. 5, Benfey ii, p. 48 and i. 159).

An old Arabic story 'The Tale of a Friend in Need' (in *Maṣāri' al-'Uṣṣāq*, Constantinople edition, pp. 325 ff.) which contains the same motif (disguise in female garb) will be published by Professor Torrey in the next number of the Journal.

II. A Greek parallel to a Hindu popular belief.

I. A curious parallel to Ovid. A. A. iii. 787-8 (Mille modi Veneris: simplex minimique laboris | Cum iacet in dextrum semisupina latus) is found in the following passages:

ŚB. i. 1. 1. 20: tā uttareṇā 'havanīyam prañayati yoṣā vā āpo vṛṣā 'gnir mithunam evāi 'tat prajānaṁ kriyata evam iva hi mithunaṁ kṛptam uttarato hi strī pumāṁsam upaśete.

ŚB. ii. 5. 2. 17: sa uttarasyām eva payasyāyām meṣīm avada-dhāti: dakṣiṇasyām meṣam evam iva hi mithunaṁ kṛptam uttarato hi strī pumāṁsam upaśete.

ŚB. vi. 3. 1. 30: dakṣiṇata āhavanīyo bhavaty uttarata eṣā 'bhrir upaśete vṛṣā vā āhavanīyo yoṣā 'bhrir dakṣiṇato vāi vṛṣā yoṣām upaśete.

ŚB. vii. 5. 1. 6: dakṣiṇato 'śādhayāi [scil. kūrmaṁ dadhāti] vṛṣā vāi kūrmo yoṣā 'śādhā dakṣiṇato vāi vṛṣā yoṣām upaśete.

JUB. i. 53. 3: idam āyatanam manaś ca prāṇaś ce 'dam āyatanam vāk cā 'pānaś ca. tasmāt pumān dakṣiṇato yoṣām upaśete.

For the later literature⁴ compare the commentary to Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Bombay ed. Nirṇayasāgara-Press.) p. 101: tatra vāmapārśvasuptāyāḥ striyā ūrvantare dakṣiṇapārśve suptāḥ pumān vāmam ūruṁ dakṣiṇakakṣāntare ca vāmbhujam praveśayet, and Vātsyāyana himself, p. 138, pārśveṇa tu śayāno dakṣiṇena nārīm adhiśayīte 'ti sārvaṭrikam etat.

¹ In the younger (Basel) version of the Alexander-Lay, R. M. Werner's edition in *Bibliothek d. Litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 154 (1881) pp. 14 f. vss. 183 ff. The Alexander-Lay of the Pfaffe Lamprecht however discredits the tale, cf. vss. 83 ff., Noch sprechint manige lügenere | daz er [=Alexander] eines gouchelères sun wêre | . . . | sulche lügenmêre | sulen sîn unmêre | iegelichen frumen man.

² Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vi. 1789.

³ Cf., for instance, the Greek Alexander-Lay in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire*, Paris, 1881, ii. pp. xxxix ff.; and, in general, Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzant. Litteratur* (2d ed.), 1897, p. 849 §374.

⁴ Cf. also R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik* (1902) p. 532.

II. In the note to JUB. i. 53. 3 (JAOS. xvi. 234) I proposed to connect these passages with Br̥hat Saṁhitā lxxviii. 24 dakṣiṇa-pārśve puruṣo vāme narī yamāṁ ubhayasaṁsthāu.¹ To this belief (viz. that the male foetus develops in the right side of the uterus, the female foetus in the left) there are a number of interesting Greek parallels.

Hippocrates, De morbis vulgaribus ii. 6 (Medic. Graecor. opera ed. C. G. Kühn, xxiii, 1827, p. 465) δύναμιν πλείστην ἔχει τιτθός, ὀφθαλμός δεξιός. ταῦτα τῶν κάτω καὶ ὅτι ἐμπέφυκε τοῖς δεξιοῖσι τὰ ἄρσενα. The same says in the second book of his Προρρήτικὰ (Praedict. ii, in Medic. Graecor. opera ed. C. G. Kühn xxi, 1825, p. 221) with reference to the possible effect of a uterine ulcer on the sex of the child: ἔλκος δὲ γινομένον καὶ ἐξυγασθέντος τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἀνάγκη λειότερον καὶ σκληρότερον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἥσσον δύνασθαι ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ μόνον ἐν τοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ γένοιτο ἔλκος ἢ δὲ γυνή ἐν γαστρὶ λάβοι, εἴτε τὸ ἔλκος ἔτι ἔχουσα εἴτε λοιπὸν ἤδη ὑγῆς εἴη, ἄρσεν μᾶλλον τεκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐλπὶς ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τὸ ἔλκος γένοιτο ἢ δὲ γυνή ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχῃ θήλυ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐκγονον χρὴ δοκέειν ἔσεσθαι. Galen refers to this belief of Hippocrates in his note to section thirty-eight of the fifth book of the latter's Aphorisms. Commenting on Hippocrates' Γυναικὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ ἦν ὁ ἕτερος μασθὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται, δίδυμα ἐχούσῃ θάτερον ἐκτιτρώσκει, καὶ ἦν μὲν δεξιὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται τὸ ἄρσεν, ἦν δ' ὁ ἀριστερὸς τὸ θήλυ, he says (Medic. Graec. oper. ed. C. G. Kühn, xvii, pars ii, 1829, p. 829) τὸ δ' ὅτι δίδυμων ὄντων, ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος, εἰ μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς τιτθὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται, τὸ ἄρρεν μόνον, εἰ δ' ὁ ἀριστερὸς, τὸ θήλυ διαφθείρεται. ἐξ ἐκείνης ἤρτηται τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἔμβρυα τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, τὰ δὲ θήλεα ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μᾶλλον. Galen omits (Medic. Graec. oper. ed. C. G. Kühn, xvii, pars i, 1828, p. 476) in his ὑπομνήματα to Hippocrates' ἐπιδήμια the section quoted above (ii. 6), but in a note to Hippocrates, De morb. vulgar. vi, he explains the reason for the belief as follows (Medic. Graec. oper. xvii, pars i, 1828, p. 1008-9): Διὰ τοῦτό φησι τὸ ἄρρεν στερεώτερόν τε καὶ χολωδέστερον καὶ ἐναιμότερον γενέσθαι διότι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ κτίσκεται τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχει. λέγει δὲ δηλονότι τὸν δεξιὸν κόλπον τῆς μήτρας. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἄλλος ἄλλως γράφει. πάντες μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν φυλάττονσι διότι καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν ὅποια τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ὄντως Ἱπποκρά-

¹ Cf. Jolly, Medizin, in vol. iii of Bühler's Grundriss, §41, p. 55 (line 6 ff.).

τους λέξεις περιττόν. ἄμεινον γὰρ οὐ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθές. ἡ δ' ἀλήθεια δια τῶν ἀνατομῶν, ὡς ἔφην, εὐρίσκεται τῶν ἀρρένων τοῦπίπαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κόλπῳ τῆς μήτρας κυύσκομένων. εἶρηται δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ θερμότερον εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ τῆς ἀνατομῆς ἐγνωσμένη. According to the court-physician of the emperor Julianus Apostata (circa 350 A. D.) Oribasius, iii. 78 (M. Wellmann, *Fragmentsammlung der Griechischen Aerzte*, I, 1901, p. 199, no. 175), the belief goes back to Empedocles: συμφωνεῖ δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς παντελοῦς τῶν ἐμβρύων διακρίσεως καὶ ὁ φυσικὸς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ φησιν ὅτι θᾶσσον διαμορφοῦται τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τῶν ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμοις.¹

The general notion that the right side is, in some way, connected with a male child, the left one with female offspring, seems to be rather general. See for India: Jolly, *Medizin*, 1901 (in Bühler's *Grundriss*) § 39, p. 50 (line 3 from bottom); § 40, p. 51 (line 9 from bottom); p. 52 (line 11); R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik*, 1902, p. 396 (bottom). For Greece: R. Fuchs, *Geschichte der Heilkunde bei den Griechen* (in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* hrsg. v. Neuburger und Pagel) I, 1902, p. 266, who refers to Hippocrates, *De morbis vulgar.* vi. 4 (Medic. Graec. opera ed. C. G. Kühn xxiii, 1827, p. 605) Τράγος ὁκότερος ἂν φανῇ ἔξω, ὄρχις δεξιῶς ἄρσεν, εἰ δὲ εὐώνυμος θῆλυ; *De superfetatione* (Medic. Graec. opera ed. C. G. Kühn, xxi, 1825, p. 467) γυναικὶ χρὴ εἶδέναι τὸν μαζὸν ὁκότερός ἐστιν αὐτῇ μέζων, κείθι γὰρ τὸ ἐμβρυον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν. ἔσται γὰρ μέζων καὶ λαμπρότερος τὸ πᾶν εἶσω τοῦ βλεφάρου ὁκότερος ἢ ὁ μαζὸς μέζων. For China: B. Scheube in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* I, 1902, p. 34 (a stronger right pulse indicates male, a stronger left pulse indicates female offspring).

III. The legend of Svarbhānu (JB. i. 80-81).

The legend of Svarbhānu² (together with the mention of a gold-fee for some Ātreya in honor of the feat of his ancestor) is frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas: ŚB. iv. 3. 4. 21; v. 3. 2. 2; KB. xxiv. 3, 4; TS. ii. 1. 2. 1; Kāth. xi. 5; xii. 13;

¹ Cf. M. Wellmann, *Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Aerzte* I (1901) p. 35; R. Fuchs in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, hrsg. v. Neuburger und Pagel I (1902) p. 266 (line 6 from bottom and ff.).

² Cf. RV. v. 40; AV. ii. 10. 8.

xxvii. 2; xxviii. 4 (for the last two cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, 1855, p. 465); TMB. iv. 5. 1; vi. 6. 8; xiv. 11. 14; xxiii. 16. 2; MS. ii. 1. 5 (p. 6); 5. 2 (p. 48). Cf. also GB. i. 2. 17.

The JB. version is as follows:

i. 80 . . . svarbhānur¹ vā āsura ādityam tamasy āvidhyat.² tam devās ca ṛṣayaś cā 'bhiṣajyañs te' 'trim' abruvan³ ṛṣe⁴ tvam idam apajahī 'ti. tathe 'ti. tad atrir apāhañs te 'bruvan yo nas tamasā viddhebhyo' jyotir avidaj⁵ jyotir asya bhāgadheyaṁ astv iti. tad etad atrihiṛanyam⁶ hriyate śatamānaṁ ha sma⁷ purā⁸ hriyate⁹ 'thai 'tarhi yāvad eva kiyaś ca dadati tad etad¹⁰ dha¹¹ vāva sarveṣu lokeṣu jyotir yad dhiṛanyam. sarveṣu lokeṣu jyotir dhatte ya evaṁ vidvān atrihiṛanyam dadāti.

81. sa yat prathamam apāhan sū kṛṣṇā 'vir¹² abhavad yad dvitīyam apāhan sū dhūmrā 'vir abhavad yat tṛtīyam apāhan sū phalguny¹³ avir abhavad. sa yaṁ kāmāyeta pāpīyaṁ syād iti kṛṣṇam asya pavitre 'pyasyet¹⁴ pāpīyaṁ eva bhavati. atha yaṁ kāmāyeta nā 'rvān na paras¹⁵ syād iti dhūmrām¹⁶ asya pavitre 'pyasyen nāi 'vā¹⁷ 'rvān¹⁸ na paro bhavati. atha yaṁ kāmāyeta śreyān syād¹⁹ rucam²⁰ āśnūvite²¹ 'ti phalgunam asya pavitraṁ kuryāc chreyān eva bhavati rucam²² āśnute.

(TRANSLATION.)

Now Svarbhānu, an Āsura, threw the Sun into darkness. The gods and the ṛṣis tried to cure him. They said to Atri: "O ṛṣi, drive this (darkness) away from him."—"Yes."—Atri drove it away. They said: "Let light be his share who hath found light for us (who were) stricken with darkness." And thus Atri's gold is offered. Formerly namely it was customary to offer a śatamāna (gold piece weighing a hundred mānas²³); and now how great and how large (a fee) they give, verily that is light in all the worlds, viz. the gold. He places light for himself in all the worlds who knowing thus gives Atri's gold.

¹ A. svargānu; B.C. svagānur. ² B.C. -añ. ³ -to. ⁴ trīm.

⁵ B.C. bbrūvan. ⁶ A. tṛṣe. ⁷ A. viddhyebhyo. ⁸ -da.

⁹ A. atrirhir- ¹⁰ B. inserts na. ¹¹ B. param. ¹² B. hridayate.

¹³ A. eta; B. evad. ¹⁴ A. dh. ¹⁵ A. bhir; B. pir. ¹⁶ B. phatṣuny.

¹⁷ B.C. pyaset. ¹⁸ -a. ¹⁹ B.C. dhūmam. ²⁰ A. rvā. ²¹ A. vā.

²² A. syām. ²³ A. om. ²⁴ A. āśrūpiyeta. ²⁵ A. rūcam.

²⁶ On the śatamāna cf. Eggeling, SBE. xli. p. 104, note 3 and p. 141, note 2.

81. The first (darkness) which he drove away became a black sheep, the second which he drove away became a dark-colored sheep, the third which he drove away became a dark-red sheep. Now if he should wish anyone to become worse, let him insert something black in his strainer: he becomes worse; and if he should wish anyone to be neither near nor far, let him insert something dark-coloured in his strainer: he is neither near nor far; and if he should wish anyone to become better, to attain splendor, let him make his strainer dark-red: he becomes better, he attains splendor.

IV. Indra, in the guise of a monkey, disturbs the sacrifice (JB. i. 363).

The first book of the JB. closes with this story:

(i. 363.) atha ha vāi nāimiśiyā¹ iti sattriṇas somaśuṣmagrhapatayas² sattram niseduḥ. teṣām mahendro vyardhayiṣyan³ markatarūpeṇa⁴ puroḍāśam pramamātha. atha hāi 'śām śitibāhur⁵ āṣakṛto⁶ 'dhvaryur anūcāna⁷ āsa. sa hāi 'taṁ trayyāi vidyāyāi śukram rasam prabrḥham⁸ vidām⁹ cakāra sarvasya¹⁰ ca¹¹ prāyaścittim¹² bhūr bhuvas svar ity etābhir¹³ vyāhṛtibhir.¹⁴ etā vāi vyāhṛtayas sarvapṛāyaścittayas. tad yathā vā¹⁵ adas samudro 'nanto 'pāro 'kṣito dyāvaprthivī sarva ime¹⁶ lokā evam vā etā¹⁷ vyāhṛtayo 'kṣitā¹⁸ (364) adugdhā anantā akṣarā¹⁹ iti. tad yad vāi bhūr²⁰ iti tad ayaṁ loko yad bhuva iti tad idam antarikṣam yat suvar²¹ iti tad asāu lokah. etā vāi vyāhṛtaya etā vāi²² devatā etā²³ vyāhṛtaya iti. etad dha tadviduṣas śitibāhor āṣakṛtasya nāimiśer markataḥ puroḍāśam pramamātha²⁴. . .

¹ -ś- not -ṣ- is also the spelling of the TMB. xxv. 6. 4, 5; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I (1896) § 197, d, e.

² A. somaśuṣtu-; C. somaśuṣṭhu-; D. somaśuṣma. ³ A.D. py-; C. cy-.

⁴ C. markatakr̥tena. ⁵ C. śati-.

⁶ A. eṣakrate; C. āṣakṛto; D. eṣakrator. ⁷ All mss. -ā.

⁸ A. pravṛḍam; C. prapratha; D. pravṛḍham. ⁹ A. viṇḍām.

¹⁰ A.D. sarvas-. ¹¹ C. om. ¹² C. -tti. ¹³ A.D. obhir; C. etā.

¹⁴ C. -hṛtir; D. -hṛtir. ¹⁵ A.D. vā. ¹⁶ A.D. eme.

¹⁷ A. etā; C. evam; D. etām. ¹⁸ A. -tā.

¹⁹ For anantā akṣarā C. reads apārā; D. has aparā for akṣarā.

²⁰ C. har.

²¹ So A.D; C. svar as all mss. above; for a similar variation cf. JUB. iii. 14. 3. ²² C.D. om.

²³ D. etām; C. inserts here vā vedā eta.

²⁴ The text of what follows is corrupt and unclear.

(TRANSLATION.)

363. The sattrins of Nāimīśa with Somaśuśma as gr̥hapati celebrated a sattra. Great Indra, desirous of spoiling it, in the shape of a monkey snatched away the sacrificial cake. Now their adhvaryu-priest, Śitibāhu Āṣakṛta, was a learned man. He, by means of the threefold knowledge, knew the bright soma-juice to have been snatched away¹ and the expiation for everything by means of these (sacred) exclamations, to wit, bhūr bhuvās svaḥ. For these (sacred) exclamations are an expiation for everything. Just as here the ocean is endless, infinite, imperishable, heaven and earth, all these worlds, even so these (sacred) exclamations are imperishable, (364) inexhaustible, endless syllables (elements). As for bhūs, that is this world; as for bhuvās, that is the air-space; as for suvar, that is yonder world. These are the (sacred) exclamations, these divinities are (identical with) these (sacred) exclamations. From Śitibāhu Āṣakṛta, the Nāimīśan, the monkey snatched away the sacrificial cake. . . .

The close similarity of this tale with ŚB. i. 6. 9-18 is patent. I subjoin the text of this latter passage with some changes which the wording of the commentary to the ŚB. and of the commentary to LŚS. iv. 11. 4 seems to suggest. Unless otherwise stated in the foot-notes the readings are those of Klemm's edition of the first prapāṭhaka of the ŚB.

ŚB. i. 6. 9. yajño² 'ham' iti³ rājño⁴ mitasya⁵ markāto 'nśūn ādāya vṛkṣam āpupruve. 10. sa hā 'ruṇir ābutim udyatyo⁶ 'vāca punar vāi 'nān ni(r)vapsyasy⁷ ato vāva mṛto vapsyasa⁸ iti. 11. so ho 'vāca kiṃ hoṣyasi⁹ 'ti. 12. prāyascittam¹⁰ iti. 13.

¹ The verb pra + bṛh is used with reference to Soma in TS. iii. 3. 1 (tvā pra bṛhantu), MS. i. 3. 36 (p. 42, 10 ff. : tvā pra bṛhāmi); the JB. i. 78 uses prahantu in the corresponding yajus.

² The first three words are not in ŚB., but both in the commentary to ŚB. (which, however, reads rājño for yajño) and in the commentary to LŚS. ³ ŚB. adds ha.

⁴ Perhaps the asya of the comment. LŚS. is for [mit]asya.

⁵ The comment ŚB. reads utpadyo.

⁶ ŚB. nivap-, comment. LŚS. nirvap-, comment. ŚB. vivap-.

⁷ Jībānanda's text (Calcutta, 1881), and three of Klemm's (Das Śaḍ-viṃśabrāhmaṇa, Gütersloh, 1894), mss. vapapsyasa, his other mss. vapsyasa, comment. ŚB. avapsyasi. Klemm (p. 79) conjectures avapatsyasa. ⁸ Comment. LŚS. -tim.

kim prāyaścittam' iti. 14. sarvaprāyaścittam' iti. 15. kim sarvaprāyaścittam' iti. 16. mahāvyaḥṛtīr eva maghavanṇ iti. sa ho 'vāca om ārune yad āhutam anūciṣe katham nu vidām cakārtha markato 'ñsūn ādatte 'ti. 17. sa ho 'vāca yac ca 'vagataṁ yac cā 'navagataṁ sarvasyāi 'śai 'va prāyaścittir iti. 18. tasmād etām eva juhuyāt.

(TRANSLATION.)

9. With the words: "I am the sacrifice," a monkey took the stalks of the measured out king (soma) and jumped on a tree. 10. Then Āruṇi, lifting up the oblation, said: "Verily, thou wilt throw them down again or dead thou wilt be scattered" (?). 11. He said: "What will thou offer?" 12. "An expiation." 13. "What kind of an expiation?" 14. "A universal expiation." 15. "What universal expiation?" 16. "The Great (Sacred) Exclamation, o Maghavan." He said: "Yea, O Āruṇi; as thou didst recite the āhuti how didst thou know that a monkey had taken the stalks?" 17. He said: "What is attended and what is not attended, for all this is the expiation. 18. Therefore he should offer this alone.—

This story forms a rather close parallel to the tale which describes Indra as drinking, in the shape of a ram, the soma of Medhātithi. Compare JB. ii. 79, medhātithir ha meṣo bhūtvā rājānam papāu, iii. 233, teṣām (scil. vibhindukīyānām) ha sme 'ndro medhātithir meṣasya rūpaṁ kṛtvā somaṁ vratayati. tam ha sma bādhat medhātithir no meṣas somaṁ vratayati 'ti. sa u ha smāi 'sām svam eva rūpaṁ kṛtvā somaṁ vratayati tato ha vā idam arvācinam medhātithir meṣa ity āhvayanti. Sāyaṇa' on RV. i. 51. 1, Kaṇvaputram medhātithim yajamānam indro meṣarūpeṇā 'gatya tadīyaṁ somam papāu. sa ṛṣis tam mesa ity avocat. ata idānīm api mesa itī 'ndro 'bhidhiyate (with a reference to the subrahmaṇyā-chant).

A very similar tale of the itihāsavids is related by Sāyaṇa in his introduction to RV. x. 119. This hymn, he says, was used by Indra in order to recover his own shape after the ṛṣis had discovered him trying to drink the soma in the guise of a quail

¹ Comment LSS. -tim.

² Sāyaṇa probably based his statement on a passage of the lost Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, cf. Proceedings for April, 1895 (Journal, xvi) p. ccl f. For the two passages from the JB. cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 35 and p. 38.

(indro labarūpam āsthāya somapānaṁ kurvan tadānim ṛṣibhir dr̥ṣtaḥ san svātmānam anena sūktenā 'stāvīt). The same story, in essentially the same words, is given by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his Vedārthadīpikā (p. 161 ed. Macdonell; *Anecd. Oxon.*, Aryan Series, vol. i, part iv, 1886).

Weber (*Indische Studien* ix, 1865, p. 38) conjectured that the former of these two tales originated in a misunderstanding of the figurative text RV. viii. 2. 40; "for in reality the verse does not contain anything except the request that Indra may come to Medātithi as a ram, i. e. with rich gifts." But I cannot persuade myself that this allegorical explanation comes any nearer the truth than Sāyaṇa's similar interpretation of RV. i. 32. 12, āśvyo vāro abhavas. Hillebrandt (*Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xiii, 1899, 317 ff.) has very properly shown that such metamorphoses¹ are part of Indra's māyā and are expressly referred to in passages like RV. iii. 53. 8 (rūpāmṛpam maghāvā bobhavīti | māyāḥ kṛtvānās tanvām pāri svām) and vi. 47. 18 (rūpāmṛpam prātīrūpo babhūva | tād asya rūpam praticākṣanāya | indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa iyate). In the face of these, rather than try to explain them away, we should welcome such concrete instances as those in the stories given above. Similar is the tale in TĀr. i. 5. 2 in which Indra assumes the shape of an ant² in order to cut the string of a bow (tasye 'ndro vamrīrūpeṇa dhanurjyām acchinat). Here belongs also RV. i. 32. 12, āśvyo vāro abhavas tād indra sṛké yāt tvā pratyāhan.³ No matter whether we agree with the details of Geldner's interpretation (*Vedische Studien* ii, 1897, p. 183) or not,⁴ it is difficult to see how we can escape from assuming here a real transformation into a horse's tail-hair.⁵

The assumption, by Indra, of female shape was discussed above, p. 176, and the later literature would probably yield a

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894) p. 266, for similar metamorphoses of evil spirits.

² Cf. for other versions of this story, Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* iii (1902), p. 428 note. Hillebrandt, *ibid.*, p. 172 would connect this story with RV. i. 51. 9.

³ The last two words of the verse, deva ekaḥ, probably belong to the next verse (Ludwig, *Rigveda*, v, 1883, p. 471, and Pischel, *Vedische Studien* ii, 1897, p. 91).

⁴ Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 138, with note ³.

⁵ This is also Hillebrandt's view (*Vedische Mythologie*, iii, 1902, p. 172).

number of parallels, such as Indra's transformation into a cat (Kathāsaritsāgara, xvii. 114) or into a peacock¹. (Rāmāyaṇa, vii. 18, cf. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 1893, p. 193).

With respect to his power of assuming any shape, Indra (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii, 1878, p. 317, § 8) is the counterpart of the Greek Proteus (Preller, Griech. Myth., 4th ed., i (1894) p. 609 f), and the Roman Vertumnus. Compare, for instance MBh. xiii. 2275 ff. Calc. (=40. 29 ff. Bomb.) with Ovid, Metam. xiv. 642 ff., Fasti vi. 409, Propert. iv. 2. 20, Tibull. iv. 2. 13.—In mediæval literature the Egyptian magician Nectanabus (see above p. 187) plays a similar rôle; cf., for instance, Gower's Confessio Amantis v. 6670 ff. 'And thanne I wisshe that I were | Als wys as was Nectanabus | Or elles as was Protheüs, | That couthen bothe of nigromaunce | In what liknesse, in what semblaunce | Riht as hem liste, himself transforme.—In the Mbh. (vii. 102. 13=3817) Duryodhana is kāmārūpin.

V. The Lex talionis in the other world. (A parallel to JB. i. 43.)

The view expressed in Manu v. 55 (mām sa bhakṣayitā 'mutra yasya māmśam ihā 'dmy aham) is usually paralleled by the second sight of Bhrgu (JB. i. 42 ff.; JAOS. xv, 1891, p. 234 ff.) where we are told: ye vā asmin loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato nāi 'vaṁvidah paśūn ākrandayataḥ pacante tām vā amuṣmin loke paśavaḥ puruṣarūpam kṛtvā pratyadanti. A second Vedic passage may be added, viz. KB. xi. 3: tad yathā ha vā asmiṇ loke manuṣyāḥ paśūn aśnanti yathāi 'bhir bhuñjata evam evā 'muṣmiṇ loke paśavo manuṣyān aśnanti evam ebhir bhuñjate. sa enān iha prātaranuvākenā 'varunddhe tam ihā 'varuddhā amuṣmiṇ loke nā 'śnanti nāi 'nena pratibhuñjate yathāi 'vāi 'nān asmiṇ loke 'śnāti (L: nā 'śnāti) yathāi 'bhir bhuñkta evam evāi 'nān amuṣmiṇ loke 'śnāty evam ebhir bhuñkte.

¹ Here the gods Yama, Kubera, and Varuṇa also assume animal shapes.



100

100

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DOES NOT CIRCULATE



